At Lapaha was a priestess named (or entitled) Poula whom the Tui 643
Tonga consulted. She resided at the site now occupied by the dwelling 793
house of the Catholic priests. For what god she officiated, I could not learn.
She was no doubt the medium through which the Tui Tonga communicated [776]
with a patron deity, quite possibly Hikuleo.

The Tui Tonga appealed to the gods when he was ill, just like any 643
other chief. Mariner (40, vol. 1, p. 453) gives an account of the illness 776
of Fuanunuiava. 755

By far the most important ceremony in which the Tui Tonga functioned 643
was the great annual *inasi* or offering of first fruits to the gods. The word 782
inasi, meaning to divide, to share, to apportion, is applied especially to food, [527]
and in the great *inasi* ceremony food and models of yams were brought as offerings. Although the food was brought to the Tui Tonga and the ceremony impossible without him, the appeal came from the people to the gods, the Tui Tonga evidently acting as intermediary. Or perhaps it is more correct to say that the Tui Tonga, being the most exalted of males, was needed in person at the ceremony in order to insure the favor of the gods. It is unfortunate that no further data on the *inasi* could be obtained in 1920 and 1921. However, the accounts of early voyagers refer to this ceremony.

Farmer (23, p. 129) says definitely, upon the authority of the Methodist missionary Thomas, that Hikuleo was the deity for whom the *inasi* was performed. [776]

Perhaps the great *inasi* included offerings to the royal dead as well as to [769]
Hikuleo, the ruler of the realm of the dead, for seventeen royal tombs in Tongatabu received shares (*inasi*) of offerings during ceremonies at the sanctuary Fanakava in Lapaha, Tongatabu: Fangaloto, Folokomanu, Matamoana, Makamaka, Heketa, Moungalafa, Leka, Tofaua, Tauatonga, Taetaea, Tauhakeleva, Mau, Katoa, Paepae o Telea, Namoala, Tuofefafa, Tuoteau.

Misui Mafileo, an aged informant, described to me a *kotoni* ceremony 643
(or perhaps entertainment) which he witnessed in Lapaha in his youth and 796
at which the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga and a matapule named Toamalanga 527
presided. Laufilitonga and Toamalanga formed the *mua* (focus, center, or head) of the ceremony. Laufilitonga was seated under a *koka* tree against which he leaned. Toamalanga sat beside him. The green (*malae*) of Feingakotone was the scene of the performance. Toamalanga's family wore oiled white tapa (*vakai*) in enormous folds around the waist.

Many people ("all the people in Tonga") were present. There were 643
six or seven groups of warriors armed with clubs made from coconut fronds 796
dried two days in the sun. The club bearers formed two lines of thirty to 526
forty men each. On one side were men from Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, Samoa, 527
Vavau, Haapai, Eua, Fuaamotu in Tongatabu, and all the Hahake District

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

of Tongatabu. On the other side were men from Vaini, Folaha, Pea, and 643
Nukualofa (all in the Loto [middle] District of Tongatabu), from Hihifo 796
District of Tongatabu, and from Fiji. These two lines of antagonists fought 526
a *falalafa* (a sham battle with coconut fronds). Apparently a blow anywhere 527
was fair. The people of Eua were particularly expert at this game. Toamalanga controlled the combat. When he thought that it had progressed far enough he ordered the Hihifo party to desist: "Loloi matanga ki Hihifo." (Sit down all westerners.) When they had responded, he ordered the Hahake (Eastern) party down. Immediately they sat down. Then Toamalanga made a speech in which he admonished the people: "Behave well because his majesty the Tui Tonga (Afio ae Tui Tonga) is here. Do not fight and make trouble."

After Toamalanga's speech the people again stood up. The priests (*taula* 643
tevolo) of various places and (or) their representatives had brought yams 796
called *ufimahaki* (sick yam) the significance of which I could not learn. 527
The representative of the priest of Holonga brought the first yam. Two men carried a long coconut-leaf basket (*fakaloumasi*) on a pole. The basket contained only banana leaves, most of the real yams being piled up behind the assembled people. Then followed the representative of the priest of Vaini with a real yam (*kahokaho,* a kind particularly reserved for chiefs). Next followed the representatives of the priest of Houma, also with a *kahokaho* yam. Hamula was next in line[8]. In carrying the yams each of these places was represented by three men. Two men supported the ends of the pole on their shoulders, the third supported the yam with his hand. The pole was carried on the left shoulder. Each of the bearers carried a war spear of toa or *fehi* wood in his right hand, and brandished it. One man from Hamula lacked a spear but brandished his hand. In addition, the families, of the priests, both males and females, carried yams. All sang, "Nofo fei moeke nofo oua e ngaue." (We have come from work.)

As the yams were being carried past the Tui Tonga he arose to depart, the people doing the same immediately he had left. The yams were carried to the sanctuary of Fanakava and there cooked and eaten by the priests and
people present. None were taken to the Tui Tonga, for it was forbidden to (784)
take anything from the premises of a god.

To-day when food is presented to the king, no club fight or other activ- (178)
ities accompany the presentation as in the past.

TOMBS OF THE TUI TONGA

The tombs of the Tui Tonga were spoken of as langi (sky). (See 25, 643
p. 125, for list of langi.) The Tui Tonga himself was also called Langi 764
at times. The tombs are usually faced with dressed rectangular slabs of 349
stone and consist of one or more terraces, so that they are often truncated

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[8] The priest of Hamula was named Kavakimotu. A man of the same title is chief now.

669 had another review like the former; and after
726 remaining two days, sailed with all the rest of
[716] the forces of the confederate islands, amounting
in all to about one hundred and seventy canoes,
direct for the island of Tonga. Owing to
the calmness of the weather, they did not reach
their destination the same evening in sufficient
time to land, but went on shore at a small island
close by, called Pángaimótoo, where they passed
the night.

Before morning, several presents were
778 brought to Finow and his chiefs, by the people
[634] living at a consecrated place on the island of
[431] Tonga, called Mafanga. Mafanga is a piece
of ground about half a mile square, situated on
[766] the western part of the island. In this spot are
the graves where the greatest chiefs from time
[764] immemorial have been buried, and the place is
therefore considered sacred; it would be a sacrilege
to fight here, and nobody can be prevented
from landing: if the most inveterate
enemies meet upon this ground, they must look
upon each other as friends, under penalty of the
displeasure of the Gods, and consequently an untimely
death, or some great misfortune. There
726 are several of these consecrated places on different
669 ent islands.

634 The following morning, Finow with several
796 of his chiefs and matabooles landed at Ma-
769

fanga: they immediately proceeded to his father's 726 669
grave, (Mr. Mariner being also with them) 634
to perform the ceremony of Toogi. All who 796
went for this purpose put on mats instead of 769
their usual dress, and wreaths made of the leaves [292]
of the *ifi* tree round their necks (significant of [824]
respect and humility). They sat down cross-legged
(the usual way of sitting) before the [516]
grave; Finow, as well as the rest, beating their
cheeks with their fists for about half a minute, 726
without speaking a word. One of the principal 669
matabooles then addressed the spirit of Finow's 634
father to the following purpose: “Behold the 796
“man (meaning Finow) who has come to 769
“Tonga to fight his enemies: be pleased with 782
“him, and grant him thy protection; he comes [565]
“to battle, hoping he is not doing wrong; he
“has always held Tooitonga* in the highest
“respect, and has attended to all religious ceremonies
“with exactness.” One of the attendants
then went to Finow, and received from
him a piece of cava root, which he laid down on
the raised mount before the Fytoka (burying-place).
Several others, who had pieces of cava
root in their bosoms, went up to the grave in 726
like manner and deposited them. The ceremony 669
being thus finished, Finow and his friends 634
431
276
796
[643]

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* Tooitonga is a great chief, supposed to be descended from a God.

726
669 returned to the beach, where a large root of cava
634 was brought to them as a present, by the chief
431 of the consecrated place, on which they re-
276 galed.

● 796 During this time, the greater part of the
forces in the canoes employed themselves in
669 preparing for battle, again painting their bodies
726 and faces after various fanciful forms. The
[714] enemy on shore were also in a state of prepara-
tion: they shouted the war-whoop, and ran up
and down the beach with furious gestures;
splashing up the water with their clubs, brandishing
them in the air, flourishing their spears, and
bidding bold defiance to their invaders.

Finow and his attendants having returned on
712 board, the whole fleet proceeded to a neigh-
[669] bouring fortress called Nioocalofa, the strongest,
[726] though not the largest, in the whole island.
As it will be proper to understand the usual
form and construction of these Tonga fortresses,
we shall give a general description of them,
taking that of Nioocalofa as a model for the
rest.

The fortress of Nioocalofa is situated on the
western coast of the island, about one hundred
yards distant from the water's edge, occupying
712 about four or five acres of ground. It con-
349 sists, in the first place, of a strong wall or fencing
of reeds, something like wicker-work, supported

hogs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts, so that nobody but 766
great chiefs may use them for food, under pain 784
of death. This *táboo* lasts about eight months.
When Mr. Mariner first arrived at these islands, 262
Tooitonga, the predecessor of the present Tooi- 765
tonga, had just died, and the ceremony of his 643
burial was being performed; though this gen- [565]
tleman had not the opportunity of witnessing
it. All the feasting consequent upon this event
being over, the *táboo* was imposed upon the ar-
ticles above named; and now, after the lapse of
eight months, comes the period to take it off,
and the accomplishment of this constitutes the
ceremony in question. It must be mentioned, [796]
by the way, that two or three plantations are [565]
not subject to this *táboo*, to the end that hogs,
fowls, and cocoa-nuts, may be furnished for oc-
casional religious rites, and for the consumption
of the higher order of chiefs. If the removal of
the *táboo* were not performed in due time, it is
supposed that the Gods would become exceed-
ingly angry, and revenge themselves by the
death of some of their great chiefs.

Finow, as before stated, seeing no appearance 766
of an enemy, and being anxious to return to 765
Hapai for the performance of this ceremony, con- 781
sulted the Gods, and was admonished by them 634
to proceed to the Hapai islands as soon as pos-
sible. With this view, he at first intended to 634
728

727 could know nothing of the contents; and that
634 the histories of whole nations were thus handed
177 down to posterity, without spoiling by being
kept (as he chose to express himself). Finow acknowledged this to be a most noble invention, but added, that it would not at all do for the Tonga islands, that there would be nothing but disturbances and conspiracies, and he should not be sure of his life, perhaps, another month. He said, however, jocosely, that he should like to know it himself, and for all the women to know it, that he might make love with less risk of discovery, and not so much chance of incurring the vengeance of their husbands.

This circumstance served greatly to amuse
[522] and interest Finow and all his chiefs during
484 their day's stay at Pangaimotoo. The following morning they again embarked, and sailing with a favourable wind for the Hapai islands, they arrived at Namooca, and ultimately at Lefooga.

262 Orders were now issued, and preparations were
796 speedily made for the ceremony of annulling
766 the eight months *taboo*. The places appro-
784 priated for this purpose were two *malâis*, and the
765 grave of Tooitonga. For distinction's sake, we
shall call the first *malâi* Tooitonga's, and the
[349] second Finow's. Tooitonga's *malâi* is near his
own residence, and on this were erected four

columns of yams in the following manner: four 262 796
poles, about eighteen feet long, were fixed up- 766
right in the ground, to the depth of a few feet, 784
at about four feet distance from each other in a 765
quadrangular form; the spaces between them,
all the way to the top, being crossed by smaller 349
poles about six inches distant from each other,
and lashed on by the bark of the *fow* (species
of the Hibiscus); the interior of this erection
being filled up as they proceeded with yams;
and afterwards other upright poles were lashed
on to the top with cross pieces in like manner,
still piling up the yams; then a third set of
poles, &c., till the column of yams was about
fifty or sixty feet high, when on the top of all
was placed a cold baked pig. Four such columns
were erected, one at each corner of the
malái, the day before the ceremony, and three
or four hundred hogs were killed, and about
half baked. The following day the hogs were 262
carried to the king's *malái*, about a quarter of a 796
mile off, and placed upon the ground before the 766
house, as well as four or five wooden cars or 784
sledges full of yams, each holding about five 765
hundred. While this was doing, and the people
assembling from all quarters, those who were
already arrived sat themselves down round the
king's *malái*. Occasionally some of them got [517]
up to amuse themselves and the rest of the com- [526]

262 pany by wrestling with one another. The king
796 and his chiefs, all dressed in plaited *gnatoo*, were
766 already seated in the house, viewing what was
784 going forward. The company being, at length,
765 all arrived, and having seated themselves, the
[517] king gave notice that the ceremony was to be-
[526] gin. The young chiefs and warriors, and those
who prided themselves in their strength, then
[292] got up singly, and endeavoured in turns to carry
off the largest hog: when one failed, another
262 tried; then a third, and so on, till every one
796 that chose had made a trial of his strength. To
766 carry one of the largest hogs is not a thing easy
784 to be done, on account of its greasiness as well
765 as its weight; but it affords a considerable share
482 of diversion to see a man embracing a large fat
[565] baked hog, and endeavouring to raise it on his
shoulder. As the hog was found too heavy for
one man's strength, it was carried away by two,
whilst a third followed with its liver. They
were deposited on the ground near Tooitonga's
malái, where the men waited till the other hogs
were brought. In the mean time the trial was
going on with the second hog, which being also
found too heavy for one man, was carried away
by two in like manner; and so on with the
third, fourth, &c., the largest being carried away
first, and the least last. The second, third,
fourth, &c. afforded more sport than the first,

as being a nearer counterbalance with a man's 262
strength. Sometimes he had got it nearly upon 796
his shoulder, when his greasy burden slipped 766
through his arms, and, in his endeavour to save 784
it, brought him down after it. It is an honour
to attempt these things, and even the king, 765
sometimes, puts his hand to it[*]. The small 482
hogs and pigs afforded no diversion, as they were easily lifted and carried away, each by one man, and deposited, not at the outside of Tooitonga's *malái* along with the largest hogs, but carried at once into it, where the cars of yams were also dragged one at a time. When [634]
every thing was thus cleared from the king's [565]
malái, the company got up and proceeded to the other, where they again seated themselves, whilst Tooitonga presided, and the king and his chiefs, out of respect, sat on the outside of the ring among the great body of the people. The large hogs which had been deposited in the neighbourhood of this *malái* were now to be brought in, each by one man, and, as it had been found that one man's strength was not sufficient to raise any of them upon his shoulders, two others were allowed to lift the hog and place it upon his shoulders for him, and then he tottered in with his load, followed by another

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[*] Nevertheless, as will be seen hereafter, they are a very [515]
cleanly people.

262 man with the liver; and in this manner all the
796 hogs and their livers were carried in and de-
766 posited in two or three rows before Tooitonga.
784 Their number was then counted by the head
cooks of Tooitonga and Finow, and announced
765 aloud to Tooitonga by his own head cook; the
482 number of cars and piles of yams was also announced at the same time.

This being done, about twenty of the largest hogs were carried to Tooitonga's burying-place, nearly an hundred yards distant: those which were too heavy for one man to lift being put upon his shoulders by two others, &c., as before, and deposited near the grave; one car of yams was also taken and left in like manner.

262 This portion of pork and yam being disposed
796 of, the remainder was shared out in the follow-
766 ing manner: one column of yams was allotted
784 to the king, to be removed in the afternoon,
and to be disposed of as he pleased: (he always
765 shares it among his chiefs and fighting men:) another column was allotted to Veachi* and two or three other chiefs: the third was given to the gods; (the priests always take care of this portion;) and the fourth Tooitonga claimed for his own share. As to the cars of yams, they

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[565] * Veachi, like Tooitonga, is a divine chief, that is descended
[643] from a god; he is, however, inferior to Tooitonga, but higher
[776] in rank than the king: see second volume of the work.

were never inquired after: Tooitonga generally 262
takes care of them, and appropriates them to his 796
own use, and that of his numerous household, 766
not that he has any legal right to them beyond 784
custom and silent consent. The hogs were dis-
posed of in like manner: the greatest quantity 765
to the greatest chiefs, who share them out to the chiefs immediately below them in rank, and these again to their dependants, till every man in the island gets at least a mouthful of pork and yam. The ceremony now concluded with dancing, wrestling, &c. after which, every person present having secured his portion, retired to his home to share it with his family. From this moment the *taboo*, or prohibition upon hogs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts, was null and void.

The hogs and yams left at Tooitonga's grave, having remained there several days, (till the pork stunk,) were shared out, by order of Tooitonga, to all who chose to apply for a portion.
They belong indeed properly to the principal [565]
chiefs; but as they are accustomed to feed upon meat in a better state of preservation, they forego their claims, and allow the lower orders to eat it for them. Mr. Mariner could not learn why the pork was thus left till it was scarcely eatable—the only answer he could get was, that such was the ancient custom. It may perhaps be considered an offering to Tooitonga's ances-

262 tors, which it would be sacrilegious to take
796 away while it was good for any thing.

766 Finow had three daughters, the eldest of
784 whom, now about eighteen years of age, had
765 been long betrothed to Tooitonga, who having
expressed *his wish that the marriage should*
643 take place, Finow gave orders for the necessary
581 preparations, about five days after the above-mentioned ceremony. Tooitonga was now about forty years of age. The particulars of this chief's marriage, which was somewhat different from those of other chiefs, shall be here described.

643 The young lady having been profusely anoint-
585 ed with cocoa-nut oil, scented with sandal-wood,
was dressed in the choicest mats of the Naviga-
[302] tor's islands, of the finest texture, and as soft as
[292] silk; so many of these costly mats were wrapped round her, perhaps more than forty yards, that her arms stuck out from her body in a ludicrous manner; and she could not, strictly speaking, sit down, but was obliged to bend in a sort of half-sitting posture, leaning upon her female attendants, who were under the necessity of again raising her when she required it. A young girl, about five years of age, was also dressed out in a similar manner, to be her immediate and particular handmaid. Four other young virgins, about sixteen years of age, were also her fol-

669 728 might think of him, that was the object which
634 was nearest his heart. No sooner did the Va-
[431] vaoo warrior hear this unexpected declaration,
than he pulled off his turban, and taking a
[576] piece of cava root, went on board Finow's canoe, and, *having presented the cava to the*
king, he kissed his feet as a mark of respect.
The king then dismissed him, desiring him to
relate to his chiefs the object of his coming,
and that he should the same evening, if they
would permit him, pass on to Neafoo *, to leave
cava there, and the following morning proceed
to the fortress, to adjust terms of peace. As
soon as the warrior departed with his message,
[796] Finow directed his course up an inlet to Neafoo, where he arrived and landed without any
opposition, and, having left cava with the usual
ceremony (see p. 89), he returned on board,
and passed the night in another branch of the
inlet leading up to the fortress; towards which,
early the following morning, he proceeded with
[577] the three canoes. At first, he intended to land
in person, and ascend the hill to address the
garrison; but from this he was dissuaded by
his chiefs: he then determined to go near to

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[778] * Neafoo is situated on the N. E. shore of Vavaoo, and is a consecrated place, like Mafánga, formerly described, where the ceremony of Tooge was performed. At Neafoo are several houses consecrated to different gods.

669 721 728 643 brother Toobo Toa, (chief of the Hapai islands,) that being weary of his unquiet and harassing life at Tonga, and being desirous to settle at Hapai, he wished his brother to petition the king in his behalf; and to obtain, if possible, his pardon for having fought against him at Nioocalofa, and to procure leave for himself and his chiefs and matabooles to reside at Hapai, and be henceforth tributary to him. This message was brought to Toobo Toa by a chief and two young matabooles, as before stated. Toobo Toa having communicated this request of his brother and his followers to the king, the latter, after a little consideration, gave his consent that they should reside at the Hapai islands, upon condition that Toobo Toa would keep a strict eye upon his brother's conduct, and be answerable for him, which was immediately agreed to. Toobo Toa thereupon got ready a large canoe, and proceeded to Hihifo to receive his brother, who came on board with all his chiefs and choice warriors; the remainder of his attendants followed afterwards in another canoe. Having touched, in their way, at the Hapai islands, they proceeded on to Vavaoo, to pay their respects to Finow, and to receive his pardon.

[796] [292] [593] [554] As soon as the king heard of their arrival at Vavaoo, he repaired with all his chiefs and ma-

tabooles to the house on the *malái* at Neafoo, 643 669
having, besides their usual dress, small mats 727
round the middle, significant of its being a 728
solemn occasion, and out of respect, too, for 796
Toobo Malohi (although he came as an humble 292
suppliant), for he was a very great chief, supe- [593]
rior even to Toobo Toa, as being his elder bro- [554]
ther. Toobo Malohi being informed that the [301]
king was already seated in the large house on [824]
the *malái*, ready to receive him, he and his fol- [576]
lowers, being all dressed in large mats, expressive of their very great respect, with leaves of the *ifi* tree round their necks as a mark of submission, went forth, with due sentiments, thus habited, and accompanied by a priest, to a
house dedicated to Tali-y Toobó, and sat down 643
before it. The priest then addressed the di- 669
vine spirit that was supposed to reside there, to 727
the following purpose: "Here thou seest the 728
"men who have come from Tonga to implore 796
"thy pardon for their crimes; they have been 793
"rebels against those chiefs who hold power [782]
"from divine authority, but, being sorry for "what they have done, they hope that thou "wilt be pleased to extend thy protection to-
"wards them for the future." The priest then [824]
rose up, and laid a piece of cava root under the [788]
eaves of the house: after which he proceeded towards Finow, with the suppliants all follow-

643 669 ing him, one close after another in the order of
727 their rank, their heads bowed down, and their
728 hands clasped before them, and, entering the
796 house on the side opposite the king, they seated
798 themselves before him and his matabooles, their
[824 hands still clasped together, and their heads
788] bowed down almost to touch the ground. After
a little time, the priest, who sat between them and the king, addressed the latter to the following purpose: "You here see Toobo Malohi, "and his chiefs and followers, who have been "to implore the pardon of Tali-y Toobó, and "are now come to humiliate themselves before "you: not that they expect you will pardon "them after so obstinate a rebellion, but they "come to endeavour to convince you of their "sorrow for so great and heinous a crime: "they have no expectation but to die, there-"fore your will be done*." After a short pause, the priest again said, "pass your sen-
643 "tence, Finow:" he then rose up, and retired
669 among the people. In a little time, Finow
727 said to the supplicants, "*Toogooá he lo ifi,*"
728 Take off the *ifi* leaves (which is a sign of par-
796 don): of which command they took no notice,
[824] as if unwilling to believe so great a mercy was
shewn to them. Finow again said, "*Toogooá*

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* This speech of the priest is to be considered more a matter of form than the real sentiments of the suppliants.

"*he lo ifi*," upon which each took off his *ifi* 643
leaves, but they all remained in the same posture. 669
Before we go further it must be observed, 727
that there were vacant places left 728
among Finow's chiefs and matabooles for 796
Toobó Malohi and his principal followers, who [824]
were of sufficient rank, to be called to after
they had received their pardon; but for a 669
great chief, circumstanced as was Toobó Malohi, 727
to obey this summons (which is always 728
pronounced by the mataboole sitting next to 796
Finow) would neither be so respectful nor so 554
prudent as to remain where he was, and take 576
no notice of it, as if altogether unworthy of being 643
so exalted; whilst a chief of less noble rank [644]
would not hesitate to obey the command, and take the seat appointed for him. All this is done upon the principle, that a great chief, so offending, ought to keep himself as humble as possible, lest, having great power and authority, he might be suspected of intentions to equalize himself with his superiors, and ultimately to revolt: whereas minor chiefs, having but little power, are not liable to excite jealousies: besides which, these minor chiefs, being governed by their superior, are thought to be less criminal than he who leads them astray by his authority. This formed a subject of dispute, beforehand, among the company:

669 some thought that Toohó Malohi would in-
727 stantly obey the order to take his appointed
728 seat, conscious of his exalted rank, and fearless
796 of the jealousy of Finow: the greater part,
554 however, were of opinion, that he would re-
576 main where he was, knowing well the revenge-
643 ful disposition of the *How*, and his promptitude to sacrifice those whom he suspected. In a little time this matter was put out of dispute. The mataboole on Finow's right hand exclaimed aloud, "Toobó Malohi! here is a "place for you." The chief seemed not to hear the summons, keeping his head bowed down to the earth: the mataboole again said, "Toobó Malohi! here is a place for you;" but his ears were still shut, and he preserved the same humble posture. The mataboole then said to the others successively (mentioning their names in the order of their rank), "here is a place for you;" and they accordingly seated themselves as their names were called over, in the places appointed for them (i. e. those who were of sufficient rank to sit in the circle, the others retiring among the people), leaving Toobó Malohi seated by himself in the middle of the ring. Cava was now
[276] prepared, and served out to the company, each in his turn, according to his rank, not excepting Toobó Malohi, who, in this case, was

served the fourth: when the cava was pre- 669
sented to him, he neither took it nor raised 727
up his head, but speaking to somebody who 728
sat a little behind him, that person stretched 796
his arms forward, and, receiving it for him, 554
took it away, reserving it for Toobó Malohi, 576
to drink after the cava party should be dis- 276
solved. The company, having finished their 643
cava, dispersed, and Toobó Malohi retired to
take his.

This chief and his followers remained at 643
Vavaoo about a fortnight before they sailed to 203
the Hapai islands; during which time he en- 634
tertained Finow with an account of different
transactions at Tonga, relating what conspiracies had been devised, what battles had been fought, what brave chiefs and warriors had fallen. Every time he mentioned the death of a hero, Finow struck his breast with his fist, exclaiming, "What a warrior has fallen in a "useless war!" or something to that purpose.

Before Toobó Malohi and his chiefs took 643
their departure, Finow repeated his orders to 668
Toobó Toa to keep a watchful eye upon them, 634
and to give him the earliest information, if he
discovered any symptoms of conspiracy, for he said he expected something of the kind, as they were all choice warriors, and had been well experienced at the Fiji islands.

mind, which must afford the highest pleasure 578
to those who love to hear of acts worthy the 577
character of human nature. On one of the 128
days of the ceremony known by the name of
tow tow *, which is celebrated on the malái, 578
with wrestling, boxing, &c., a young chief, of 526
the name of Talo, entered into a wrestling- [796]
match with Hala Api Api (the young chief who, as may be recollected, was mentioned on the occasion of Toobó Nuha's assassination). It should however be noticed, that a few days before, these two had held a debate upon some subject, in which neither could convince the other. It is usual on such an occasion, to prevent all future fruitless argument upon the same topic, to settle the affair by wrestling: not that this mode is considered in the light of a knock-down argument, perfectly convincing in its nature, but it is the custom for those who hold a fruitless contention in argument, to end the affair the next opportunity, by a contention in physical strength, after which the one who is beaten seldom presumes to intrude his opinion again on the other, at least not upon the same subject. Hala Api Api therefore challenged Talo on the spot. For a long time the contest

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* An offering to the god of weather, beginning at the time [782]
when the yams are full grown, and is performed every tenth [241]
day for eighty days.

578 was doubtful; both well made, both men of
526 great strength: at length, however, it was the fate of Talo to fall, and thus the contest ended. The fallen chief, chagrined at this event, could not allow, in his own mind, that his antagonist had overcome him by superior strength, but rather owing to an accidental slip of his own foot; and consequently resolved to enter the lists with him again at some future and favourable opportunity.
[796] This occasion of the ceremony of *tow tow* presenting itself, Talo left his companions and seated himself immediately opposite Hala Api Api; a conduct which plainly indicated his wish that the latter in particular should engage with him: a conduct, too, which, though sometimes adopted, is generally considered indicative of a quarrelsome disposition, because the challenge ought not to be made to one in particular, but to any individual among those of a different place or party who chooses to accept it. As soon as Hali Api Api and his friends perceived this, it was agreed among them that he alone should oppose him. In a short time Talo arose and advanced; Hala Api Api immediately closed with him and threw him, with a severe fall. At this moment the shouts of the people so exasperated Talo, (for he had made sure in his own mind of gaining a victory) that, on the impulse of passion, he struck his antagonist, whilst

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565 Veachi', as mentioned before, is another *Egi* of divine original, but far from being equal
[634] to Tooitonga. The king, indeed, avoids his
[576] presence, the same as he would that of Tooitonga, and always pays him the usual obeisance
[796] when he happens to meet him: but he has no *peculiar* marks of high respect shewn to him, as are shewn to Tooitonga; that is to say, no ceremonies that are, in themselves, peculiar and different from what are shewn to other chiefs
[776] by their inferiors. There is this one universal acknowledgment, however, viz. that he is a great chief descended from a god, that he is next in rank to Tooitonga, and superior to every other chief. His name has no known literal meaning that Mr. Mariner can discover.

793 Priests or Fahe-gehe. The term *fahe-gehe*
means split off, separate, or distinct from, and is
787 applied to signify a priest, or man, who has a
555 peculiar or distinct sort of mind or soul, differing from that of the generality of mankind, which disposes some god occasionally to inspire
[576] him. These inspirations, of which an account
[634] has been given vol. i. p. 100, frequently happen, and on such occasions the priest has the same
[565] deference and respect shewn to him as if he
[643] were the god himself; if the king happen to be
[776] present, he retires to a respectful distance, and sits down among the body of the spectators, so

643 down while they passed: for if any one were to
565 forego this ceremony in presence of a superior
634 *Egi*, some calamity from the gods would be expected
576 as a punishment for the omission. Sitting
784 down is with them a mark of respect, as standing
up is with us, before a superior; upon the
516 principle perhaps, that in this posture a man
576 cannot so readily attack or assassinate the person
in whose presence he is; or it may be that
in this posture lowering his height is significant
of his rank or merit being humbled in presence
of the other.

643 There are many ceremonies which characterise
the high respect and veneration shewn to
796 Tooitonga; but as in this place we are discoursing
644 of rank, not of ceremonies, the full description
of the latter must be deferred till we come to
speak of religious rites. Here we shall only
mention, in a general way, in what these ceremonies
chiefly consist.

1. The grand ceremony of *ináchi*, which is
643 performed once a year, (about the month of
796 October,) and consists in offering the first fruits
644 of the year to Tooitonga. It was supposed that
651 if this ceremony were neglected, the vengeance
[784] of the gods would fall in a signal manner upon
the people.

643 2. Peculiarity of his marriage ceremony.
796 3. Peculiarity of his burial ceremony.
644
[585]
[766]

4. Peculiarity of the mourning for his decease. 643 796

5. Tooitonga is not circumcised, as all the 644
other men are, unless he goes to foreign islands [765]
to undergo this ceremony; nor is he tattowed. [304]

6. Peculiarities of speech, used in regard to [192]
Tooitonga; for instance, if the king or any chief
but Tooitonga be sick, they say he is *ténga* [195]
tángi, but Tooitonga being sick, he is said to be *booloóhi:* so with many other words that are used exclusively for him, and which will be noticed hereafter.

These things are mentioned in this place, 643
merely to afford an idea of the high veneration in which Tooitonga is held; for to whom but the greatest personage can such peculiarities belong? Notwithstanding his high rank, however, he has comparatively but very little absolute power, which extends in a direct and positive manner only to his own family and attendants: as to his property, he has somewhat more than the generality of the nobles, but much less than the king, who by his arbitrary sovereignty can lay claim to almost any thing.

Thus all that can be said in this place of Tooitonga is, that he is by far the greatest *Egi*, having the credit of a high divine original, and that all respect and veneration is therefore due to him.

the chief to whom they are attached. They 565
have the management of all ceremonies. Their [796]
rank is from inheritance; and they are supposed to have been, originally, distant relations of the nobles, or to have descended from persons eminent for experience and wisdom, and whose acquaintance and friendship on that account became valuable to the king, and other great chiefs. As no son of a mataboole can assume that rank and title till his father be dead, the greater part of them are beyond the middle age of life, and, as it is their business to make themselves acquainted with all rites and ceremonies, and with the manners, customs, and affairs of Tonga, they are always looked up to as men of experience and superior information*.
Some of the matabooles are adepts also at some [463]
art or profession, such as canoe-building, or su- [767]
perintending funeral rites: this last, though a ceremony, the generality of matabooles do not attend, as it is also a distinct profession.
Those few that are canoe-builders are very per- [396]
fect in their art, and only make canoes for the king, or other great chiefs. The matabooles [173]

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* The rank and office of the matabooles must be a very great advantage to the Tonga people: it may be presumed to be one great cause of the superiority of this nation over the inhabitants of the Fiji islands, the Society islands, the Sandwich islands, &c.

565 [173] [428] also make themselves acquainted with traditionary records, and hand them down to their sons. When a mataboole dies, his eldest son, or, if he have no son, his next brother, becomes a mataboole. All the sons and brothers of matabooles are mooas.

Mooas are the next class of people below the matabooles; they are either the sons or brothers of matabooles, or descendants of the latter. As the sons and brothers of matabooles are mooas, and as no mooa can become a mataboole till his father or brother whom he is to succeed be dead, so, in like manner, the sons and brothers of mooas are only tooas, and no tooa can become a mooa till his father or brother [796] whom he is to succeed be dead. The mooas have much to do in assisting at public ceremonies, such as sharing out food and cava under the direction of the matabooles: they sometimes arrange and direct instead of the matabooles, unless on very grand occasions. Like the latter, they form part of the retinue of chiefs, and are more or less respected according to the rank of their chiefs. Most of the mooas are professors of some art.

[693] Both matabooles and mooas have the business of attending to the good order of society, to look to the morals of the younger chiefs, who are apt to run into excesses, and oppress the

776 the king's family, but very frequently by Tóe
[634] Oomoo. He[A] has a large consecrated fencing
at Ofoo, one of the islands in the vicinity of
[778] Vavaoo: he has, at least, one priest, and is
[793] very frequently consulted in behalf of sick
[787] persons.

[755] A'LO A'LO; literally, *to fan*. God of wind
and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in
776 general. This god is generally invoked about
821 once a month, if the weather is seasonable, that
it may remain so; if the weather is unseasonable,
or destructive on shore by excessive wind
or rain, he is invoked every day. A'lo A'lo is
not the god of thunder and lightning, of which,
indeed, there is no god acknowledged among
them, as this phenomenon is never recollected
to have done any mischief of consequence. In
boisterous weather at sea, the superior god
Toobo Toty', the protector of canoes, and other
sea gods, are always invoked in place of A'lo
776 A'lo. About the time when the yams are full
796 grown (near the latter end of December), the
241 ceremony of *tow tow* begins, consisting in an
offering of yams, and other provisions, to the
god A'lo A'lo. This ceremony is repeated every
ten days, for eight times successively, as will be
described under the head of religious rites.
776 This god has only two houses dedicated to him,
778 one at Vavaoo, and the other at Lefooga: he
793 has also two priests, one at each place.

A [the god Ala'i Va'loo--Analyst]

276 ther more. No chief comes to an inferior
574 chief's cava party, or, if any extraordinary circumstance
565 was to make this necessary, the inferior
would be obliged to retire to his own exterior
276 circle, and the superior visitor would preside:
574 for the greatest chief present must always
565 preside, unless there be an inspired priest, then
576 [793] [787] *he* sits at the head of the circle, and the greatest
chief in company, who would otherwise have
that honourable situation, now retires, with
other chiefs, to the exterior circle, not out of
respect to the priest, who may be only a mooa,
but out of veneration to the god supposed to
exist within him; so that the superior circle, in
such a case, consists principally of mataboolees
and mooas; for chiefs may be looked upon as
distant relations to the gods, and no person
may sit in the upper circle along with his superior
relation; besides it is an act of humility
[796] demonstrating great respect. When a priest
presides, which is the case at all religious ceremonies,
except where they are consulting
a god who has no priest*, the latter always

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[776] * When a god has no priest, as Tali-y-Toobó, for instance,
no person actually presides at the head of his cava circle, the
place being left apparently vacant, but which, it is supposed,
[778] the god invisibly occupies. 'On such occasions the cava
party is always held before the house consecrated to the god:
(as in the commencement of the illness of Finow's daughter.)
And they go through the usual form of words, as if the first

has the first cup; the presiding mataboole, 276
not actually officiating, has the second; the 574
third, fourth, fifth, and perhaps sixth cups, are 565
given to the next higher persons in the superior 576
circle; and then the chiefs who have retired to 796
the exterior circle are, out of respect, helped; but this rests at the option of the officiating mataboole; afterwards the remainder of the superior circle are served.

At smaller cava parties, the forms and words 276
of ceremony are precisely the same; but when 574
a priest does not preside, familiar conversation, and even joke and merriment, are indulged in. On all occasions every individual pays the [291]
greatest attention to his dress, that it be decorous and well tied on, that is, with neatness*.

We have been particular in the description of 796
the ceremony of preparing and drinking this in- 128

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cup was actually filled and presented to the god: thus, [776]
before any cup is filled, the man by the side of the bowl says, [778]
Cava gooa hèca, The cava is deposited (in the cup): the mataboole answers, *Angi ma ho egi*, Give it to your god; but this is mere form, for there is no cup filled for the god.

* Some of our readers will perhaps find some difficulty in believing this, but nothing is more true than that the Tonga people of any degree of rank are very particular in regard of their personal cleanliness and neatness of dress; insomuch that a man will often refuse to join a neighbouring cava party, because the *gnatoo* which he happens to have on may not be so new or so good as he could wish.

276 574 796 128 fusion, because it sets in so strong a light the manners and customs of the people, and because it so frequently accompanies almost every kind of religious ceremony. It is not pretended, however, that drinking cava is essential to every religious ceremony, or to most of them, but that it is the custom to take it generally on such occasions. These religious ceremonies we shall now describe, and shall take them nearly in the order in which, by the natives, they are considered of most importance, or most sacred; viz. *Inachi; Fúccaláhi; cáva fúcca egi; Towtow; Nawgía; Tootooníma; Boótoo; Langi; Taboo; Fóta; Móë-móë; toógoo cava.*

651 796 [634] Although the ceremony of *inachi* was entirely abrogated by Finow just before Mr. Mariner left Vavaoo, we place it first in rank, because it always used to be considered of the utmost importance before it was done away with; besides which, it was a ceremony which affected the property of every individual in Vavaoo, and al the Hapai islands, and formerly in the island of Tonga also.

[642] INACHI. This word means, literally, a share or portion of any thing that is to be or has been distributed out: but in the sense here mentioned it means that portion of the fruits of the earth, and other eatables, which is offered to the gods in the person of the divine chief Tooitonga, which

allotment is made once a year, just before the 651
yams in general are arrived at a state of matu- 796
rity; those which are used in this ceremony being [643]
of a kind which admit of being planted sooner
than others, and, consequently, they are the
first fruits of the yam season. The object of [782]
this offering is to insure the protection of the
gods, that their favour may be extended to the
welfare of the nation generally, and in particular
to the productions of the earth, of which yams
are the most important.

The time for planting most kinds of yams is 651
about the latter end of July, but the species 796
called *caho-caho*, which is always used in this 244
ceremony, is put in the ground about a month
before, when, on each plantation, there is a
small piece of land chosen and fenced in, for
the purpose of growing a couple of yams of the
above description. As soon as they have ar- [643]
rived at a state of maturity, the *How* sends a
messenger to Tooitonga, stating that the yams
for the *inachi* are fit to be taken up, and re-
questing that he would appoint a day for the
ceremony: he generally fixes on the tenth day
afterwards, reckoning the following day for the
first. There are no particular preparations [202]
made till the day before the ceremony: at
night, however, the sound of the conch is
heard occasionally in different parts of the

651 islands, and as the day of the ceremony ap-
796 proaches it becomes more frequent, so that the
244 people of almost every plantation sound the
[202] conch three or four times, which, breaking in upon the silence of the night, has a pleasing effect, particularly at Vavaoo, where the number of woods and hills send back repeated echoes,
[824] adding greatly to the effect. The day before the ceremony, the yams are dug up, and ornamented with a kind of ribbons prepared from the inner membrane of the leaf of a species of pandanus, and died red*; when thus prepared, it is called *mellecoola*, and is wrapped round the yam, beginning at one end, and running round spirally to the other, when it is brought back in the opposite direction, the turns crossing each
651 other in a very neat manner. As the ceremony
796 is always performed at the island where Tooitonga chooses to reside, the distant islands must make these preparations two or three days beforehand, that the yams, &c. may be sent in time to Vavaoo, where we will suppose the affair is to take place. The ninth day then

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* It is first soaked for six or eight hours in lime water, and afterwards in an infusion of the root of the *nonó*, where it remains for about a week; it is afterwards exposed to the sun, and becomes of a bright red: the root of the *nonó* is of a dark bright yellow, which, upon the action of lime water, becomes red.

is employed in preparing and collecting the 651
yams and other provisions, such as fish, cava 796
root, and *mahoá*, and getting ready mats,
gnatoo, and bundles of *mellecoola:* but the yams
only are to be carried in the procession about
to be described.

The sun has scarcely set when the sound of [202]
the conch begins again to echo through the
island, increasing as the night advances. At 651
the Mooa, and all the plantations, the voices of 796
men and women are heard singing *Nófo booa* 533
tegger gnaobe, óooa gnaobe, Rest thou, doing no
work; thou shalt not work. This increases till
midnight, men generally singing the first part of
the sentence, and the women the last, to produce
a more pleasing effect: it then subsides
for three or four hours, and again increases as
the sun rises. Nobody, however, is seen stirring [202]
out in the public roads till about eight
o'clock, when the people from all quarters
of the island are seen advancing towards the
Mooa, and canoes from all the other islands are
landing their men; so that all the inhabitants
of Tonga seem approaching by sea and land,
singing and sounding the conch. At the Mooa 651
itself the universal bustle of preparation is seen 796
and heard; and the different processions entering [292]
from various quarters, of men and women, [411]
all dressed up in new *gnatoos*, ornamented with

651 red ribbons and wreaths of flowers, and the
796 men armed with spears and clubs, betoken the
[292] importance of the ceremony about to be performed.
Each party brings in its yams in a
[411] basket, which is carried in the arms with great
care, by the principal vassal of the chief to whom the plantation may belong. The baskets are deposited on the *malái* (in the *Mooa*), and some of the men begin to employ themselves in slinging the yams, each upon the centre of a pole about eight or nine feet long, and four inches diameter. The proceedings
651 are regulated by attending matabooles. The
796 yams being all slung, each pole is carried by
788 two men upon their shoulders, one walking before
the other, and the yam hanging between
769 them, ornamented with red ribbons. The procession begins to move towards the grave of the last Tooitonga (which is generally in the neighbourhood, or the grave of one of his family will do), the men advancing in a single line, every two bearing a yam, with a slow and measured pace, sinking at every step, as if their burden were of immense weight*. In the mean time the chiefs and matabooles are seated in a semi-

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* And as if meaning to express, "How bountiful are the "gods, to give us so good a harvest, and provide us with "yams so large and heavy!"

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circle before the grave, with their heads bowed 651
down, and their hands clasped before them. 796
The procession now approaches: two boys, 788
walking abreast of each other, precede it at a 769
little distance, blowing conchs; then come the men, bearing the yams, about seventy or eighty in number, i. e. about a hundred and sixty men in a single line, as close to each other as the length of the pole will allow; after them comes a single line of men, about forty in number, singing aloud, as before stated, *nofo óooa*[*], &c.; these are followed up by two other boys blowing conchs: they proceed between the grave and the chiefs, describing there a large circle two or three times, the conchs blowing and the men singing: the yams are then deposited, one after the other (still on the poles), before the grave, and the men sit down by the side of them, so that the chiefs and matabooles are in the rear: one of the matabooles of Tooitonga now rises, advances, and again seats himself before the grave, a little in advance of the men. Here he addresses the gods generally, and afterwards particularly, mentioning the late Tooitonga, and the names of several others. He returns

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[*] Not only no work may be done at the time of the *inachi*, but nobody may appear abroad, unless for the purposes of the ceremony. [461]

651 thanks for their divine bounty in favouring the
796 land with the prospect of so good a harvest,
788 and prays that their beneficence may be continued
769 in future: this prayer he makes in the
names of several chiefs present, whom he announces
aloud. This being done, he arises and
retires to his former place: the men now also
rise and resume their loads in the same order,
and, after having paraded round two or three
times before the grave, return back to the malái
the same way they came, singing and blowing
651 the conchs as before. The chiefs and matabooles,
796 a short time afterwards, rise and follow
them to the same place, where the yams are
now again deposited, and loosened from the
poles, still, however, retaining their ornaments.
The company seat themselves in a large circle,
at which Tooitonga presides; the king, and
other great chiefs, retiring behind among the
mass of the people. The other articles that
form part of the *Ináchi* are next brought forward;
these are dried fish, *mahoa'*, mats, *gnátoo*,
and bundles of *mellecobla*, which, together with
the yams (although not cooked), are shared out
[776] by one of the matabooles of Tooitonga. First,
[793] there is a considerable share (about one fourth),
[643] allotted to the gods, which the priests appropriate,
and their servants immediately take
away: about one half is allotted to the king.

which his servants, without farther orders, take 651
away to his house, and the remainder is taken 796
away by Tooitonga's servants. It may seem [776]
strange that the latter has a smaller share than [793]
the king, but then he has not a quarter the num- [643]
ber of dependents to divide it among.

The materials of the *Inachi* being removed, 651
the company form a regular cava party: some 796
cava root is brought and prepared, and a large 276
quantity of dressed victuals, perhaps a hundred 574
and fifty baskets-full; a small portion of which is shared out to be eaten with the cava. While the infusion is preparing, a mataboole makes a speech to the people, stating, that as they have performed this important ceremony, the gods will protect them, and grant them long lives, provided they continue to pay due attention to religious ceremonies, and to pay respect to the chiefs. When the cava is finished, the circle separates, and the provisions are shared out to
each chief according to his rank. The day con- 651
cludes with wrestling, boxing, &c. after which 796
night dances commence. ~~When these are ended,~~ [526]
the people retire home, perfectly assured of the [535]
protection of the gods.

At this ceremony, the quantity of provisions 651
shared out is incredible; the people, there- 796
fore, look upon it as a very heavy tribute, 574
though in fact the owners of the plantations

651 (chiefs, matabooles, &c.) are at the expense of
796 it; yet as there is much more provided than
574 what is eaten, it helps to increase the scarcity if the season should not be abundant: but it is so much the custom at Tonga to make liberal and profuse presents, that the people generally either feast or starve. Sometimes it happens that several great feasts are given nearly about the same time; as for instance, the occasion of the Inachi; the arrival of some chief from a distant island, after a long absence; the marriage or death of some great chief, as of Tooi-
[261] tonga himself, &c. These feasts threaten a
[784] scarcity; to prevent which, a *ta'boo* or prohibition is put upon several kinds of food, that they may not be eaten for a certain length of time, at the termination of which they perform the following ceremony, which takes off the *taboo*: a famine or war may also occasion a necessity for this *ta'boo* to be imposed.

796 FUCCALAHI, i. e. to make all at large or free again; or to take off a restriction. As the mode
796 of performing this ceremony has already been
276 described, (see Vol. I. p. 120.) and the particular objects of it mentioned, (p. 113, same vol.) nothing farther need now be said upon the subject, except that it is generally concluded with a cava party.

[574]
[793]
[787] CAVA FUCCA EGI: this consists in a cava

party, where an inspired priest sits at the head; 796
the circumstances of inspiration we have already 276
related, (Vol. I. p. 99.) and the form of serving [574]
out the cava when a priest presides, (Vol. II. [793]
p. 194.) The phrase *cava fucca egi* means literally, [787]
a god-like cava. Laying a small piece of
cava root before the grave of a chief or consecrated [769]
house, out of respect to a god, or to a
deceased relation, is called *toogoo cava*, and will
be mentioned in its proper order.

TOW-TOW is an offering of yams, cocoa-nuts, 796
and other vegetable productions to A'lo A'lo 782
(the god of weather) in particular, and to all [821]
the gods in general, for the purpose of ensuring [776]
a continuation of favourable weather, and consequent
fertility. This ceremony is first performed at the time when the yams are approaching maturity, in the early part of November, and is repeated every ten days for seven or eight times. On the day appointed by the priest of A'lo A'lo, every plantation on the three parts of the island, viz. the *hahagi*, *mooa*, and *hihifo*[*] districts provide a certain quantity of yams, cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, bananas, plantains, &c. all which are brought to the *malái*, tied upon sticks, so that each stick, when held horizontally, has

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[*] *Hahagi* is the north end of any island; *hihifo* the south end: the *mooa* part of the island being the centre. [823] [192] [103]

796 about eight small yams hanging from it at equal 782 distances; or a couple of bunches of plantains or bananas, &c.: the sugar-canes are tied in bundles, three or four in each. These things being brought are disposed in three piles, one erected by the people of Hahagi, with their offerings, another by the people of Hihifo with theirs, and the third by those of the Moóa. The piles are placed on one side of the *malái* upright, the ends of the sticks next the ground, diverging from each other, and the upper ends meeting together; whilst others are placed [526] across them on the top. Wrestling and boxing matches now commence, which generally last about three hours, and being ended, a deputation of nine or ten men from the priest of A'lo A'lo, all dressed in mats, with green leaves round their necks, arrives with a female child, to represent the wife of A'lo A'lo, and seat themselves before the three piles, forming a single line, with a large drum (kept there for the purpose) immediately in front of them. The deputation now offer up a prayer to A'lo A'lo and the other gods, petitioning them to continue their bounty, and make the land fruitful, &c.; this being done, they give orders in regard to sharing out the provisions; one pile being appropriated to A'lo A'lo and the other gods, the other two being shared out to different principal

chiefs, and sent home to their houses, the pile 796
for the gods remaining still in its place. They 782
then begin another short prayer to the same
purpose, at the close of which they make a
signal by beating upon the drum, when all that
choose make a sudden dash at the pile appropriated
to the gods, and each man secures as
much as he can, to the great amusement of all
the spectators, though many of the scramblers
come off with wounded heads, and sometimes
with fractured limbs, the broken sticks being
thrown about in every direction. All the women 796
now get out of the way, while the men 782
stand up and commence a general pugilistic 526
contest, one half of the island against the other 565
half: this combat is termed *tóë taców*, and
forms an essential part of this ceremony, but it
is now and then practised at other ceremonies.
At these general battles, the highest chiefs engage
as well as the lowest *tooas*, and any one of
the latter may, if he pleases, attack the king,
and knock him down if he can, or even Tooitonga,
without any reserve, and handle him unmercifully,
without the least danger of giving
offence. These combats are sometimes very
obstinately kept up, and when neither party
seems likely to yield the ground, after two or
three hours dispute, the king orders them to
desist. The most perfect good humour con-

796 782 526 565 stantly prevails on these occasions: if a man is knocked down, he rises with a smile; if his arm is broken, he retires to get it set, without seeming to think any thing of it: on the contrary, to be angry, or to fight with the least animosity, would be considered the mark of a very weak [783] mind. After the battle, those who have contended with superior chiefs, or think they may have touched superior chiefs, perform the ceremony of *möëmöë*, to a chief at least as high in rank as any they may have come in contact with.

796 782 Every tenth day, as before stated, these ceremonies are repeated for seven or eight successive times. The child that has been mentioned as representing the wife of Alo Alo is generally chosen from among the female chiefs of the higher ranks, and is about eight or ten years old: during the eighty days of this ceremony, she resides at the consecrated house of Alo Alo, where, the day before the first ceremony, a cava party is held, at which she presides, as well as at a feast which follows. She has nothing to do on the actual days of the ceremony, except to come with the deputation and sit down with them.

782 755 796 **Nawgia**; or the ceremony of strangling children, as sacrifices to the gods, for the recovery of a sick relation. The blackest cloud

that obscures the understanding of the Tonga 782
people is surely that which prevents them see- 755
ing the unnatural cruelty and absurdity of this 796
practice: we have, however, the most sanguine hopes that "Moloch—horrid king," will not much longer hold his reign in these islands. It is not, we verily believe, from a want of natural feeling, but from an excessive veneration and fear of the gods, created in an æra of great superstition, and now upheld by old practice, that the natives perform these horrible rites. All the by-standers behold the innocent victim with feelings of the greatest pity; but it is proper, they think, to sacrifice a child, who is at present of no use to society, and perhaps may not otherwise live to be, with the hope of recovering a sick chief, whom all esteem, and whom all think it a most important duty to respect, defend, and preserve, that his life may be of advantage to the country. The form of this ceremony is related (Vol. I. p. 217.): other instances on the occasions of Finow's last illness, and that of Tooitonga.

The ceremony of Nawgia, (or strangling), 766
used to be performed upon the chief widow of 768
Tooitonga, on the day of her husband's burial, 778
that she might be interred with him. Two Tooitongas were buried during Mr. Mariner's time; one on his first arrival, and the other,

784 *tâboo*, and must not be eaten until a small portion be first given to the gods. Any other kind 262 of food may be rendered *tâboo* by a prohibition being laid on it. Fruits and flowers when tábooed are generally marked to be so, by pieces of white *tapa*, or a piece of plait, in the shape 784 of a lizard or shark*. To prevent certain kinds 796 of food from growing scarce, a prohibition or *tâboo* is set on them for a time, as after the [262] *inâchi*, or other great and repeated ceremonies; [651] and which *tâboo* is afterwards removed by the ceremony called *fúccaláhi;* but this latter term is not only applied to the ceremony which removes the prohibition, but is equally used to express the duration of the *tâboo* itself, and which therefore is often called the time of the *fúccaláhi.* During certain ceremonies, as that of the *inâchi* and the *fala* (see Vol. I. p. 390), nobody may appear abroad, or at least in sight, it being tabooed to do so.

784 [192] Any thing that is not tabooed is said to be *gnofoba* (i. e. easy, or at liberty), and is a term used in contradistinction to *tâboo.*

[565] [788] When a person is tabooed, by touching a superior chief or relation, or any thing personally belonging to him, he will perform the cere-

---

[609] * Nevertheless they would not refuse to pluck and eat if Mr. Mariner, or any foreigner not influenced by such superstition, would first remove this external sign of the *tâboo.*

784 or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other
643 chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no
415 chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the
778 inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing), belonging
to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead
of his feet. In Mr. Mariner's time, Tooitonga
always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which
dish was given to his father by Captain Cook.
784 Véachi usually adopted a similar plan. Cava,
276 either the root or the infusion, cannot be tabooed by the touch of any chief of what rank
soever; so that a common *tooa* may chew cava
which even Tooitonga has touched.

Toogoo Ca'va. This ceremony consists in
796 merely leaving a small piece of cava root before
782 a consecrated house or grave, out of respect to
276 a god, or to the departed spirit of a chief or re-
788 lation, at the same time the ceremony of *toogi*
or beating the cheeks is performed, as related
(Vol. I. p. 89.) The *toogi*, which is performed
at burials, is of a more serious nature.

Lotoo is the term used for praying; but it
782 is more commonly applied to prayers offered up
in the fields to all the gods, but particularly to
Alo Alo, petitioning for a good harvest. It
will be also recollected, that prayers are offered
up before consecrated houses and graves.

787 As omens, to which they give a considerable

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

SONGS

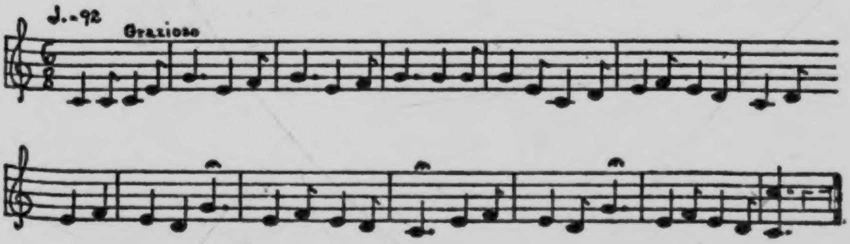
MODERN DANCE SONGS

INTRODUCTION

Although the songs that follow are called dance songs it is not to 533
be presumed that no other poems in this collection were sung as the ac- 535
companiment of dances. Many others were doubtless so used. Dance, [538]
song, and poetry go hand in hand. The most comprehensive word of the
dance is *faiva,* which is applicable to any accomplishment, or feat of skill. 535
A man's *faiva* is that wherein he excels. In relation to festivals the *ngahi*
faiva are the dances. A modern innovation of very wide application
is *lakalaka,* literally marching. Older names of dances are still remembered, though some are seldom used of present-day dancing. Probably many old forms of dance have survived although their specific names have dropped out of use, and have been replaced by the more indefinite *lakalaka,* which is said to have originated with marching movements of children at church festivities in the earlier days of missions. The word now covers a wide range of men's and women's dances. A characteristic *lakalaka* is performed by a row of men and a row of women, the women being in front. Dancers keep time to the music with hands and feet. Type of subject and movement are at the discretion of the leader. There is much freedom of choice.

The *lakalaka,* and many other of the dances, are indeed ballets. Many 535
of the movements are representative of the activities described by the ac- 533
companying song. Such tunes as those reproduced on pages 126-128 are
typical of those sung to the *lakalaka.* A tune given by Mariner (28, vol.
2, last one facing p. 116) is still sung, though not to the *lakalaka.* One of [796]
the best places to hear typical old music is in church prayer-meetings. Re-
ligious emotion is still stirred and best expressed by the native music unin- [781]
fluenced by later models.

The following tune was used as the accompaniment to a *lakalaka* performed at the time of the World War.



14. It is tapu for a boat to pass to windward of another boat on which there is a 539
greater chief. So Falepapalangi says to his rival that he desires to vaunt himself the [565]
greater man of the two. [784]
15. The ending seems abrupt, and possibly there are lines missing. [505]

Page 72. Falepapalangi

1. A woman freshly adorned from her toilet. Mother and new-born are also [302]
smeared with turmeric.
2. The opening of the turban allows the fragrance of the oil with which the head [846]
is anointed to escape.
3. "Chatter without going a voyage" is equivalent to "Talking about what you [302]
have never been to see, so little of a sailor that you would be sick in a pond."
4. This is sarcasm directed at the rival. "We hear the sounds of pleasure and think that the Vavau bard is amusing his fellow countrymen; but no, it turns out to be only the murmuring of the wind in the toa trees."
5. The situation of Fekitetele has evidently been long unknown. There is a fragment of a poem which refers to it as a name only whose position is unknown.

Fekite-tele te mau tala	Fekite-tele we shall tell
Koe'uhi pe hono hingoa	Only because of its name
Ka kuo 'ikai hono tu'unga.	But it has no position.

6. The homeless Vavauan is the rival, who is living in Tongatabu but has no real standing or home there. It is only by an act of grace that the chiefs of Tongatabu allow him to live with them.

Pages 72-73. A poem of Falepapalangi to Mamaeaepoto

1. Those who sail to Tongatabu, namely, the people of Haapai and Vavau.
2. Gift, the *inasi*, which was a ceremonious, religious offering of the first-fruits [651]
to the Tui Tonga, a harvest festival, was also used of the portions into which
presentations of food, mats, and the like, are divided. Probably the reference is not to [796]
the religious festival, but to the portion of a chief in any ceremony.
3. Houmahaaloau and Anamanu, both in Vavau.
4. A gesture of giving up; renouncing; having no more to do with.
5. Falalatokelau is unidentified but probably is in Vavau, and apparently the meaning of the reference is that Mamaeaepoto has given up singing the praises of Vavau.
6. Toa and *feifai* are trees used in the toilet.
7. Pangai is the court of the Tui Kanokupolu. Later on in the poem words are 539
used which would make it seem as though the Tui Tonga was the king referred to.
At the death of the last Tui Tonga in 1865 these words were formally transferred to 643
the then Tui Kanokupolu, and have continued in his house, that of the reigning family.
Even if this piece was composed before that transference, it is possible that courtesy [644]
might have allowed of the Tui Kanokupolu's being addressed in the highest terms. 539
Probably it is best not to press the matter too closely but merely to say the king.
8. Mat (*ngafingafi*) is the ordinary cincture of respect in the presence of chiefs. [291]
The *fatai*, a creeping plant, seems to have been regarded as especially appropriate to
men who had just come from the sea. Evidently the meaning here is that the king [576]
told Falepapalangi to dress himself in readiness to perform before him.
9. Falepapalangi represents himself as sitting on the deck of the windward canoe [824]
and hearing, perhaps from the deck of the larger canoe, the songs and conversation, and finds that he himself, or his poem, is being criticized, presumably in a composition of Mamaeaepoto.
10. Kafoa is a hill in Vavau. Falepapalangi says that Mamaeaepoto would better compose a poem about Kafoa and leave him alone.
11. The gull (*tala*) is the poet himself, ranging for subjects, and lighting on some beautiful headland.
12. The simile, a beach where boats put in from all quarters, denotes that he is a meeting-place of many excellences, or a poet to whom many people resort, or a poet to whom many subjects furnish inspiration.
13. The meaning of this last part of the poem "I don't care what you do with my poetry; take it anywhere, to Akana (in Samoa, Aana), Tamatuitala (unidentified

A few days after the New Year we summed up a week of 527
village festivity as follows: 574

> Christmas and New Year have passed by quite uneventfully. Beyond feasting and much church-going on Christmas Day, the villagers have paid no special tribute to the memory of Christ's birth. They have been much more excited about
> New Year. The last day of the old year was a day marked by 527
> extra-large feasts and culminating in a two-hour church service 574
> which lasted from ten to midnight. All the local lay-preachers 796
> together with their pastor kept the service going at the Free
> Wesleyan church by taking turns in quarter-hour prayers or 794
> Bible lessons. The pastor had brought into the church two noisy clocks which ticked away on the pulpit. Punctually at midnight, the pastor climbed into the pulpit, cut short the interminable praying of one of the more verbal lay-preachers and himself led the congregation in a fluent and final outburst of prayer. Thereafter the congregation broke up into small and
> excited groups. Each saluted everyone else with a vigorous [576)
> handshake and the Polynesian nose greeting. Then the meeting broke up and all went home.
>
> Each of the three Protestant churches welcomed the first 527
> minute of the New Year at different minutes. The three 795
> local pastors would have thought it undignified to synchronise their clocks during the day. As a result there was a range of at least thirty minutes between first and last New Year greeting—plenty of basis also for interdenominational discussion later on as to when New Year actually occurred.
>
> According to village custom the first week of the New Year 527
> is given over to rejoicing and thanks for the blessings of the 574
> year just finished. This thanksgiving has consisted of daily
> church-going, the interminable and almost continuous beating 796
> of wooden gongs by gangs of lads working in shifts, the eating of large quantities of food each day, interminable singing of church hymns each night by groups of adults and gangs of children, much sociable coming and going of groups of singers between one village and the next. The local "string band" has been on a constant perambulation of near and distant villages. Each visit has meant all-night *kava* drinking, eating, and playing of the five tunes that make up the band's repertoire. Voices have become hoarse, eyes red and puffy through lack of sleep; tempers are breaking easily through fatigue.
>
> We asked Biukala whether he had had a happy week. He 527
> replied that he had been happy for so many days that he was 461
> tired now of being happy any more. His most fervent wish was that the next week would come quickly that he might begin again his routine plantation work. His feelings were echoed

794 554 Recognition as a lay-preacher brings much extra social prestige to the man concerned. It is a record of devoutness, high spiritual life, and Biblical scholarship (knowledge of the geography of the Temple in Jerusalem, for instance, ability to construe Biblical texts, or skill in retracing Jesus' various itineraries)—and these are important in a culture where Christianity is not a matter for lip-service only but also a lesson in vitally believed dogma. It gives one a directing responsibility for church upkeep and repairs and thus the ability gently to remind the congregation of the amounts one has oneself spent in caring for the church structure. It makes it necessary to be faithful in attendance at all church services, meetings, choir practices; thus one has a pleasant feeling of being busy in the good works of the Lord. It gives one also the opportunity of conducting church 794 796 554 [537] services. Then, dressed in regulation shirt, coat, trousers, sox, and shoes (if any), one slowly climbs the stairs of the ornate wooden pulpit and, taking a deep breath, launches forth in oratory and exhortation that flays the sinner with the fear of hell and gently reguides him back along the narrow path with an old, old story that never tires, of One Man's sacrifice and love for mankind.

794 796 It is true that for the most part the congregation appears to be singularly unaffected by oratorical climaxes. Some of them sleep. Some catch flies. Mothers nurse their babies. Children in the first rows giggle and pinch each other. Some look idly out of the window. Some study the hymnal. Only a few, and those perhaps the most devout, make even a pretense of paying enrapt attention, and these have eyes so shaded by hands that it is but charity that regards them as concentrating deeply on the message and not covertly asleep.

794 554 [576] When the service is over, the mass file out through the main front door. The lay-preacher stands at the small back door behind the pulpit, there to shake with solemn hands and greet the village overseer, the wife of the pastor, perhaps a visiting chief or other person of importance from another village. Then the preacher himself feels important and well rewarded for the days of almost full-time anxious study of text and rehearsal of phrase that have filled the hours between notification of preaching-assignment and the actual moment of oratory itself.

source of amusement for the first few days. On week- 877
days they were taught shorthand and the higher mathe- 873
matics by native tutors in cap and gown; in the evenings [533]
they sang incessantly in excellently sustained parts. [212]
On Saturday they turned out with knives and baskets to [203] [796]
clean up the College premises; and on Sunday they all [291]
put on trousers and mortar-boards, and were marched off
two and two to church, carrying their shoes in their
hands. At the church-door the whole sixty pairs halted
to put on their boots, and enter the house of God with
dignity. They formed a magnificent choir of bass voices, [533]
and rendered the trashy Methodist hymns with a grandeur [796]
that would have greatly surprised their composers.
During the sermon the sixth form were busy transcribing [212]
the homily in shorthand.

which this would have entailed. The one given by 643
Tukuaho was a useful one, and for the present I became 645
to the Tongans not a Minister of the Crown, but "*Koe
tugata fakahinohino*" (The expounder—of the dark ways
of civilised man).

The Privy Council over, we had time to look about us.
The island at this point is barely half a mile wide: every 133
rood of it seems to be under cultivation, from the back of 311
the town to the edge of the rocks on the Liku upon which
the ocean-rollers, driven before the steady trade-wind, beat
unceasingly. The Europeans of the place live in a row of 563
stores on the beach, each hungry for copra, each fearing 366
to give the natives credit, yet not daring to refuse lest [452]
they take their custom to a neighbour; and each, when
he has given credit, mortified by seeing his debtor pass
his store to sell his copra to a hated rival. There is the
agent of the great Hamburg firm, the agent for M'Arthur
& Co., a free-lance or two, a carpenter, and the Customs
officer of the port, who brings up a large family on £100
a-year. The only friendships in this heterogeneous society 563
are mere alliances against a common foe, and as they are
all by instinct against the Government, and can now have
the exciting sport of setting the king against his Ministers,
there is something very like reconciliation among them.

On Sunday we went to church in a driving rain-storm, 796
but, notwithstanding the weather, the little building was
filled. The women in their native finery looked infinitely [292]
more respectable than their brothers and husbands, who
had donned threadbare coats and trousers in honour of
the day, but had stopped short of shoes. The king was [643]

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796 there, of course—nothing but illness prevents his attend-
[643] ance at church. The sermon was dull, for there was no sedition in it, probably in deference to our presence: the preacher even called upon Tukuaho for an extempore prayer, and announced there would be a *bolotu* in the evening.

VI.

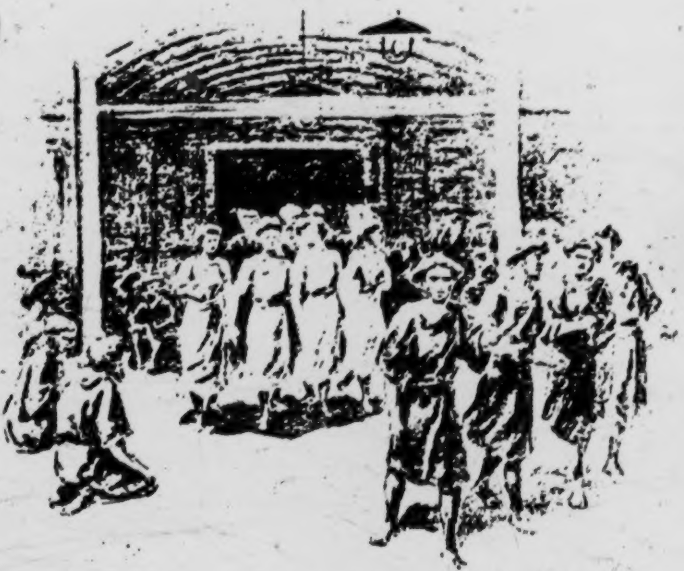
THE POLITICAL USES OF A STATE CHURCH.

THE *bolotu*, or night-service, is a growth of Tongan soil. 796
As Christians the Tongans may no longer enjoy the mild [795]
excitement of taking kava to the shrine of a god, and see [782]
the priestess shiver and foam at the mouth in an ague fit, [793]
or hear her scream the favourable oracle in high falsetto.
The missionaries have stopped all that. True, they may [797]
take to preaching, but they cannot all preach—there must
be some to form the congregation. They have the histrionic [152]
instinct, and no outlet for it in private theatricals or
drawing-room recitations; therefore they wisely make the
mission supply the place of that which it has taken away,
and to do them justice, they have produced an exhibition
far more picturesque than the religious orgies of the
Salvation Army.

The little thatched church blazed with kerosene-lamps [373]
that threw broad streaks of light from the windows upon
the palm-leaves wet with the rain, lighting the gay *valas*
and brown legs of several mysterious groups who had
formed at a distance. We found the inside of the build-

796 ing nearly empty, but there was a look of eager expectancy
on the faces of the few old people who lined the walls.
796 Then from without came the sound of singing in quartette,
533 in perfect tune, swelling in volume as the choir reached
the door. They filed in, forming fours as they passed the doorway, men and women alternately, holding one another's hands. At the end of each phrase they took a step forward, and when they reached the reed pulpit their song merged into another in the far distance. It was the second choir: as their voices soared upward the first band became silent and scattered to their places along the

[291]



The first choir.

walls, amid the plaudits of the audience. So a second 796
choir filed in, and a third and fourth, until the church 533
was filled to overflowing. It was in reality a choral com- [621]
petition between the different divisions of the town, the
outcome of three weeks of practice under the direction
of the composer. The native parson meanwhile took his [793]
stand in the pulpit, and gave out a text, which was sung
with fine effect by the combined choirs to a tune of
native composition. An inspiriting address followed, 796
often interrupted by cries of applause. They were
working up their enthusiasm for the real business of
the evening.

After the sermon there was a long pause, during which
the people looked furtively at one another. At last an old
woman stood up, and the shouts of "*Fakafetai*" became
deafening. "She is going to tell about her soul," whis- 781
pered my neighbour. Upon this interesting subject she 783
had a great deal to say in a monotonous flow of verbiage,
drowned at times by the cries of "*Malo!*" I noticed, in- [195]
deed, throughout the evening that the women had a far
greater command of language than the men. Before she
had finished, two middle-aged men and a very villanous-looking policeman were on their feet. The first to rise
caught the parson's eye, and gave us a very long and weary
diagnosis of his spiritual symptoms. The second elder
was jaunty, and gently chaffed his soul, exciting bursts
of merriment by screwing up his eyes at the laughing
places. Three or four others had now risen, and remained
standing in penitent attitudes until their turn came. The
criminal-looking policeman had his say first. With forced

645 only the women had been impressed, but now the men's
186 set faces relaxed, and there was a chorus of "*Malo!*")
645 But that was not all. There were some perhaps who
797 loved the man who was gone. Well—he was not there to
speak ill of the absent, but he would say this, that the
accounts were now being audited, and that some very
strange things were coming to light. Did they think that
any Tongan could thread the dark passages of such cunning?
645 No. The king knew that when he asked for a
[643] white man to be sent to audit the accounts, and to make
[609] the dark ways plain. He was present, sitting at his side.
(I tried to look unconscious.) In six short months he
would leave them: it would be useless for them to ask
781 him to stay longer—he could not. But he (Tukuaho) was
there to-night to speak of his soul, and not of politics.
What had politics to do with a church in which before
God all men were equal? It was true that his soul was
pained, but he had at least the comfort of knowing that
he was doing his duty.

634 Before the applause had subsided Fatafehi was on his feet.

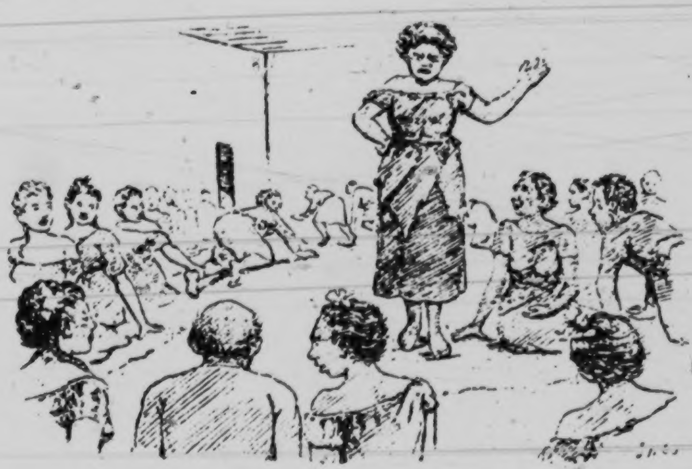
"I hear that you are all angry with me. Very well: that's your affair. But what is it about?" He laughed—not his hereditary laugh, but a less pleasant sound. "I will tell you why you are angry," he went on, and lashed the mischief-makers with great vehemence, not even deigning to end his speech with a devotional peroration.

796 "There will be less foolish talk to-morrow," said
645 Tukuaho as we came away. "It was a good *bolotu*, only
I am sorry that Fatafehi's words were so hot."

203 As soon as we reached home the spies were set in
208

motion to feel the pulse of the people after their dose 203
of tonic. 208

Besides a pleasurable excitement the *bolotu* supplies the 776
place of the confessional, though, owing to its publicity, 781
the sins confessed are generally the more venial slips of 783
omission rather than of commission. But not always.
Tradition has it that the unregenerate Mary Butako, when



"*When Mary 'told her soul.'*"

291
516
302

past her first youth, showed leanings towards repentance, and there was dire consternation among the men of Sawana. They took heart, however, when it was found that though she attended every *bolotu*, yet she never was moved to "tell her soul." A night came at last when the enthusiasm passed the bounds. The acclamations were mingled with the sobs of the penitents overwhelmed with a sense of their sin, and in the midst Mary was seen

796 standing, weeping aloud. The dreadful day had come,
781 and one after another the men of the place slunk out to
783 spread the dire news among their comrades in distress.
Plaudits and tears were alike suppressed: this was too serious a matter for ordinary demonstrations. A terrible and damning history fell from the lips of this penitent Phryne of the South Seas. When she had finished there was scarcely a man in the church, but the women sat and drank it all in, and many a household in Sawana dates its domestic troubles from that terrible *bolotu* when Mary "told her soul."

645 We began next day to reap the fruit of the seed
574 scattered at the *bolotu* overnight. We were haunted by
578 visitors. Our political opponents came in, each carrying
[431] in his hand the inevitable root of kava—for a Tongan
[276] making a visit of any ceremony would as soon forget his
kava as an English lady her card-case under similar cir-
[203] cumstances. They sat rubbing shoulders with the spies
from whom we knew exactly how much their new-born
[152] friendship was worth. There was, moreover, a nervous
hilarity about them that showed their sense of the awkwardness of their sudden change of front.

634 At mid-day we summoned a meeting of the Govern-
624 ment officials in the wooden court-house. There were the
[625] judge, the police magistrate, and the pound-keeper, all
malcontents; a dozen policemen and jail-warders, believed to be the same; the Treasury clerk, said to be loyal; and greater than all—the head jailer, Kaho, a
[551] dark horse whom it was important to win over. He
proved to be the white-haired, bright-eyed *matabule*, who had been my neighbour in the king's *faikava*, where he sat

794 myself from the others by sheltering behind the promise I had given him not to contribute to any plate but his. Their method was ingenious. The tout took care to approach his victim in the evening when the house was full of people. He would remark that Pita (a neighbour) had promised two dollars this year, and would hint that he scarcely supposes the victim will allow himself to be outdone by such a one as Pita! The unfortunate man, constrained by false shame, promises more than he can afford; the amount is noted in a book, and has to be found by importunity or petty larceny.

As the day drew nearer we were set upon by numbers
794 of the faithful, including our convict groom, who came to
123 borrow money to give to the Church. For these I had but one form of argument — forcible if not altogether reverent. They were, I said, proposing to give my money to the Church — not their own; and as it was extremely unlikely that they would ever pay me back, and therefore either I or the Church would have to go without the money, I thought the Church was better able
794 to afford the loss. Cynics among the traders even went the length of declaring that the *fakamisonali* is always accompanied by the disappearance of their ducks and fowls, which may generally be found in the yard of a rival trader living at a distance, who has innocently bought them from a native bent upon contributing his mite to the Church. This is no doubt a slander.

On the appointed day the whole population donned
796 their gala trousers and petticoats, and streamed to the
[292] church, whose big bell was being tolled by relays of urchins. The pews were crowded: there was not even

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

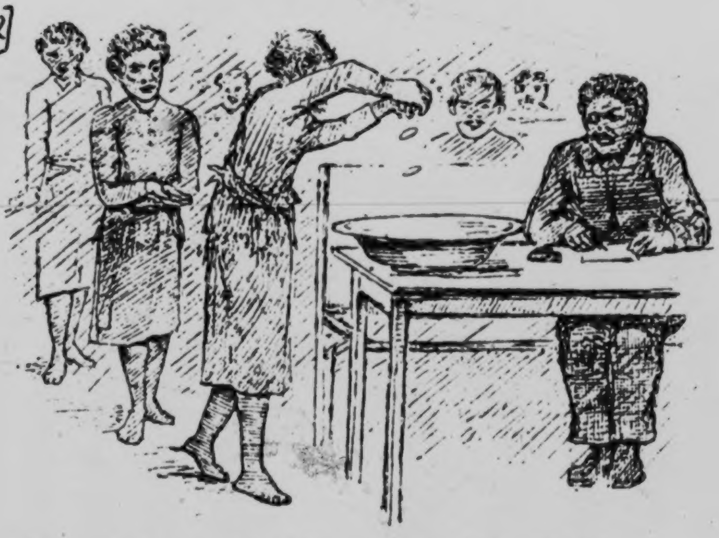
standing-room round the walls. At the pulpit end was 796 a semicircle of seats for the European aristocracy, includ- [563] ing, of course, Mr M——, the contractor for the Government copra, who aspired to be thought the deliverer of oppressed Tongans, and could not therefore allow such an opportunity for advertisement to pass.

How shall I describe the scene that followed? How 796 shall I portray the unction of the presiding missionary, 794 as he poured forth his prayers for a full plate in a voice [797] shaken with emotion, the roar of "*Malo!*" as each sentiment found expression, the rich smiles of the owners of the filling basins, and the mortified anxiety of the owners of the still empty ones? How tell of the magnificent, if somewhat ostentatious, liberality of the portly Mr M——, as his interpreter, the local butcher, announced, amid deafening cheers, that he was about to give £20 to the Lord out of his deep compassion for the suffering and oppressed? If the *bolotu* was a pious orgy, the *fakamisonali* was a religious debauch. In front of the pulpit stood a table on which lay a common wash-hand basin and an account-book, guarded each by a native teacher. The patrons of the basins sat in a stiff row behind.

After the preliminary religious exercises the missionary announced the name of the patron of the "plate" first to be filled. It might be the name of the person in charge of it, or that of some dead or absent one to whose memory it was dedicated. In one case a young blood of Vavau called his plate after a favourite dog, deceased some months before; but the presiding missionary had to draw the line somewhere, and he elected to draw it at dead dogs, because he feared that it might import a spirit of levity into the

796 proceedings. As the name of each patron was called she
794 rose in a stately manner and cast her contribution into the basin as a nest-egg. And now those who had promised contributions to the "plate" just announced, swaggered up the aisle and flung their coins into the basin. It was amusing to note the difference of gesture. Here a man would march up with an air of deep disdain and toss his

[292]



"Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."

coins into the basin one by one. Another would approach with proud humility and dash down a handful of threepenny pieces with a crash, retiring as he had come amid the shouts of well-merited applause for the dramatic contrast between his bearing and his bounty. In earlier days, before the glare of publicity had checked the spontaneity of the *fakamisonali*, the real sensation, as in all well-

arranged spectacles, was kept until the end. A band of 796
men and women would come up together and walk round 794
and round the basin, each throwing in a threepenny piece as he passed. After a few rounds a man whose stock of coins was exhausted would fall out, and the procession continued without him. Then only two were left to circle round each other in a sort of dance, amid deafening applause. At last one of the survivors gave out, and the victor was left alone to stand before the basin and chuck in his coins from a distance. He was the hero of the day.

Behind the pulpit were the tables of the money-changer, 796
who, so far from being driven out of this temple, was con- 794
sidered necessary to its very existence, being, in fact, the 797
missionary himself. The mode of collection demanded a larger stock of small coins than was obtainable at the local stores, and as every contributor was encouraged to enlighten his right hand as to the doings of his left, the smaller coins are made to do double duty. When the congregation would no longer respond to the taunts or the entreaties of the basin-man, the contents of the basin were counted and dumped upon the money-changer's table, thus supplying him with change to satisfy the requirements of the contributors whose turns were yet to come.

In the palmy days of the Wesleyan mission, when Mr Baker was still the trusted shepherd of an undivided flock, the mission treasury was filled by a system for the ingenuity of which I believe he deserves the entire credit.
In the hysterical enthusiasm so cleverly fostered by the [452]
missionaries, the natives were quite ready to mortgage their crops for the brief glory of surpassing their neigh-

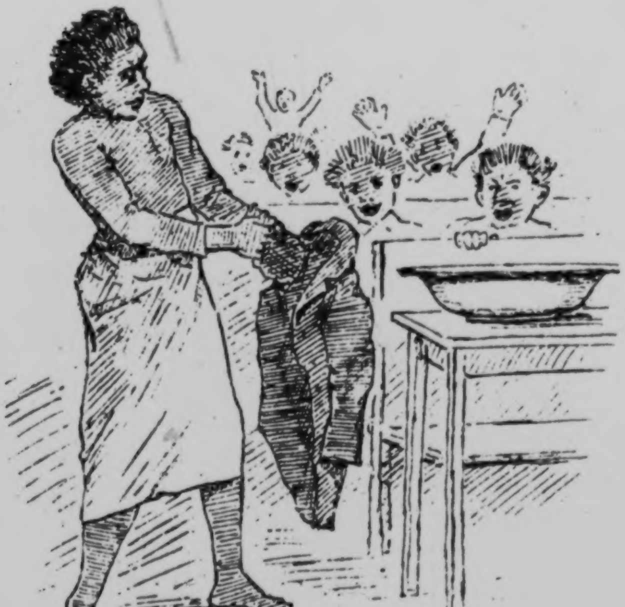
796 hours; but it was thought that if the missionaries them-
794 selves advanced the money and afterwards sued their
797 debtors in the courts when the excitement of the collection
452 had had time to cool down, adverse criticism, and perhaps
even the resentment of the faithful, might be aroused. So Mr Baker entered into an unholy alliance with Messrs Ruge & Co., a German firm newly arrived in the group. The agents of the firm were to advance cash to any native who wanted it for the church collections on promissory notes, to be repaid in copra when the crop was ripe; and as the firm had not sufficient coin to satisfy all comers, the mission was to hand back the coin to the agents as fast as it was collected, taking bills on Sydney in exchange. Thus the firm secured a lien on all the future crop, to the exclusion of its rivals, the mission trebled its collections, and when the bills became due, it was the German firm who incurred the obloquy of haling the over-generous debtor before the court, and of selling up his live stock and furniture. The complacency of the courts might be counted on, for the chairman of the mission was also the unofficial adviser of the Government. Strange stories of the *fakamisonali* of those days were told to the Commission of Enquiry sent to investigate Mr Baker's proceedings—how, when the trading agent at the church door dared not advance any more cash, the disappointed native would rush back to the basin, stripping off his coat as he ran, and fling it in to win one more yell of applause from his excited fellow-worshippers.

796 These more picturesque incidents have now given place
794 to sober business. When the basins had drained the
congregation of all their cash, the contents were quickly

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

counted and the amount whispered to the presiding 794
teacher. In crying aloud the contents of each basin he 796
allowed pauses for the cheering, and artistically kept the
largest until the last. Mr M——, the deliverer of the
oppressed, showed a fine eye for effect. He cared noth- [563]

[292]



" *To win one more yell of applause.*"

ing for the cheap and ephemeral burst of admiration that might have been won by flinging his twenty sovereigns into the same basin at once, but sat proudly erect while his almoner, the butcher, distributed his munificence equally between all the six basins, thereby winning to

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

794 his interests the hearts of all the patrons and their
796 friends. After the benediction had been pronounced,
[563] the congregation walked thoughtfully home to cool down
and face the future.

It is easy to sneer at the missionaries in the South
797 Pacific as drones sucking the honey that others have
stored; as ministers of the collection-plate rather than
of the Gospel; as moral teachers whose grim code is responsible
797 for the deterioration of native morality. The
177 books written about the Pacific Islands have been the
[114] work of either missionaries or passing travellers, and
hostile criticism by the latter has been in obedience to
the natural law of reaction after the sometimes nauseous
series of self-laudatory books given to the world by the
missionaries themselves. Casual travellers, who hoped to
see the natives in their primitive simplicity of manners,
are disappointed to find them clad and in their right
minds, and galled at the restrictions, apparently arbitrary
and unreasonable, laid upon them by their spiritual
guides. They have read much of the hardships of the
missionary's life. They find him sleek and prosperous, the
autocrat of his flock, living in a good house, travelling
in a comfortable and well-found boat: they feel that an
attempt has been made to obtain their sympathies under
false pretences, and they write down mission enterprise
a fraud, and the system a mere institution for raising
[563] money from the gullible native. In this extreme view
[441] they are supported by the Europeans of the place,—for
traders do not love missionaries, regarding them as competitors
who, besides crippling trade, interfere with their
domestic arrangements.

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

as are the ordinances against allowing domestic animals to 671
stray into public thoroughfares. Blue laws prohibiting work [688]
and play on the Sabbath are observed scrupulously by the Tongans and diligently enforced among Europeans by the Tongan police.

So thoroughly saturated is the Tongan with what might 798
be called "tabuism" that his attitude at times becomes intolerant and even persecuting. A well-educated Tongan [186]
one day remarked to me concerning Sunday picnics of European residents, "Well. what can you expect from ignorant foreigners?" On another occasion I observed a helmsman on a church-owned passenger vessel severely rebuked for not joining in a hymn. When the schism occurred in the Methodist ranks in Tonga and resulted in the establishment of the Free Church, there was much downright physical suffering administered to Tongans who preferred the old faith. A number of these displayed the true martyr spirit. Others became Roman Catholics rather than join the new church and still others yielded reluctantly to the call of the new church.

It should be noted that many Tongans have entered 797
the ranks of missionary workers and taken an important part in Christianizing Melanesia and New Guinea.

Some Catholic churches in Tonga still use the booming 794
of the huge wooden native drums (lali) to summon their 795
congregations. The Protestant churches seem largely to [202]
have adopted the less inspiring bell. I have noted, too, Catholic congregations seated cross-legged on the floor. Protestant congregations seem more generally to use benches.

A feast for the minister after his Sunday sermon seems 795
to be the established Methodist practice in Tonga. Appar- 796
ently we have here a good old Methodist custom which fits "hand-in-glove" with the feasting of the priest at the time of inspiration in pagan days.

Christianity has been a powerful democratizing factor 771
in Tonga. Through it the arbitrary powers of the chiefs 177
have been curbed and conversely the status of the commoner 565
has been bettered. Anciently commoners were supposed to [774]
have perishable souls. To-day their souls are imperishable like a chief's. In addition to bringing about more of a 177
balance between these two extremes of Tongan society, the 793
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643 of European clothing were worn by any of the
797 people. It was evident that very little advance
794 had been made, in these matters, upon the former
[177] habits of the country. We were almost overpowered,
[291] also, by the sickly odours of scented oils,
with which most of the worshippers were plentifully
[302] anointed. It sparkled on the hair, and trickled
down the bare shoulders of old and young, to our
great disgust. But notwithstanding this drawback
to our pleasure, we certainly felt it "good to be
there." The responses during prayer were united
[796] and hearty; the singing was by no means wanting
in good harmony,—a great advance upon that of the
New Zealanders,—and the sermon was listened to
with profound attention. At the close of the discourse,
Mr. Thomas, the officiating Missionary,
called upon the king to pray. This he did with
[782] much pathos and power, until his feelings quite
[781] overcame him, and a general outburst of weeping,
and warm "Amens," relieved the emotions of the
large congregation. We understood very little of
the language; yet we felt that there was here no
hypocritical or fictitious show, but the genuine and
unsophisticated evidences of a simple and earnest
religion.

797 The lamented death of the Rev. Francis Wilson, at Vavau, rendered it advisable that his loss should be supplied as soon as possible; and we therefore prepared to advance another stage on our long voyage. A few days happily spent in Nukualofa and the neighbourhood, in observing the native habits, and in acquiring a knowledge of the more simple elements of the language, prepared us to face once more, with cheerfulness, the troubles of sea life. Our final destination was now only about

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graphy of the world, than we are at present aware of. And, in conjunction with that knowledge, there may have been migrations of nations, and the peopling of distant and isolated localities, by those among whom there existed a religion more advanced and enlightened than the debased and puerile belief and worship of modern heathenism. After a lapse of four thousand years, there remains a feeble glimmer of truth amid the fables and traditions of a multitude of distinct and widely-separated tribes of men. The general coincidence of these seems to indicate one common primeval source. There can be no doubt that the Tonguese religion bore, in several particulars, a striking resemblance to the ritual and economy of the Jewish ceremonial law. Indeed, this similarity prevails more or less in the various groups of Polynesia. Nor can it be denied that many of the inhabitants have strongly-marked Jewish features. But it requires further research, and more proof, before we can adopt the conclusion some have come to, that any portion of the people is of Israelitish extraction. A few of these points of resemblance may here be specified as a matter of interest.

1. There obtained among the Tonguese a regular division of time into months and years, these divisions being marked by the recurrence of sacred seasons and public feasts; which were observed with religious ceremony, and were under the sanction of the most rigorous laws. It is also remarkable that the Tonguese have some knowledge of an intercalary month, the use or disuse of which has led to many discussions among themselves. [805) [796) [805)

2. The entire system of *Tabu*, by which times, persons, and places or things were made sacred, [784)

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

174 [784] and the many religious restrictions and prohibitions connected therewith, may be easily interpreted as a relic, much changed and corrupted, from the ceremonial observances of the Jews.

[796] 3. The great feast of the "*Inaji*," or offering of first-fruits to the gods every year, seems a custom or religious ceremony of purely Jewish origin.

[304] 4. The same may be said of the rite of circumcision, which was regularly practised by them. An uncircumcised person was considered mean and despicable; and the custom has only disappeared in recent years.

[783] [764] 5. Every person and thing that touched a dead body was considered unclean, and remained so until after the lapse of a certain number of days. During that allotted time, those whose duties compelled them to do the rites of burial, were not allowed to feed themselves, or to touch the food prepared by others. They were therefore carefully fed by attendants.

[846] [783] 6. Females, after child-birth, and after other periods of infirmity, were enjoined strict separation; and were subjected to ceremonial purifications.

[778] 7. The Tonguese had cities of refuge, corresponding to those instituted among the Jews; the uses and regulations of which were closely akin to theirs.

[793] 8. The priestly orders and functions resembled, in some of their features, those of the Mosaic law. The *Taula*, or priest, was supposed to become inspired by the god, as his shrine or representative, while receiving and answering the prayers and sacrifices of the worshippers. These were offered [794] through the *Feao*, or attendant upon the Taula;

643 lengthy mourning period by a formal observance
766 called *Fakalahi.*[9]

[784] The first fruits of the season were presented
annually to the *Tu'i Tonga* in the solemn, traditional
[262] ceremony—*'Inasi.* These tributes of food in
643 incredible quantities were actually gifts to the gods,
651 for whom the *Tu'i Tonga* was sole earthly agent. In
the ceremony, thanks were given to the gods and
[796] prayers were offered to insure the gods' protection
and their favor for future plentiful harvests.
[784] Succeeding harvests and success in other ventures
supposedly depended upon the execution of the
'Inasi (literally, portion or share), for if it was not
performed, the people believed that the gods would

[p.29-B]

men of enterprise who use a *pa* trap for catching fish sometimes sell their 621
catch to the villagers or to the people of Mu'a, the ancient capital of the 226
Kingdom lying 3 miles south of Nukuleka. 432

Eiki Tevita Leka

The high chief of Nukuleka is Tevita Leka, a *matapule* of the present 622
Queen. His family have been sailors of the Tui Tonga for generations. 173
There is a story about his ancestor. Long ago, a daughter of the Tui [643]
Tonga became pregnant, but did not disclose her lover's name. Getting [644]
angry, the Tui Tonga was going to kill her, when Haavea Leka, a
matapule of Ha'afeva island in Haapai, came in and asked permission to
take her with him to his own island. On departing, Haave asked the Tui
Tonga as a special favour to name the baby Leka and make him *toutai*,
a sailor, of the Tui Tonga, if the baby should be a boy. The Tui Tonga
later called the boy Leka back to Hu'a and made him a chief sailor of
the *kalia*, a double canoe, named Lomupeau.

The genealogical distance between this first Leka and the present
one is not clear, although Tevita Leka can identify six generations before
him. Many years ago, the Tui Tonga ordered Leka to reside in this [643]
village which was formerly called Nuku. The messenger from the Tui
Tonga to Leka often lost his way, for there were a number of places
named Nuku in Tonga. The name Nukuleka was then given to avoid the [103]
confusion.

Today Leka lives in the same way as an ordinary villager, working 622
his own *api tukuhau* of 8½ acres, and sleeping in a house thatched with [511]
plaited coconut leaves. But he is of the highest rank among the villagers [241]
and none is able to take a seat above him. Even in a church a chair is [342]
reserved for him beside the pulpit. As *matapule* of the Queen, he [554]
announces the order of the Queen to the villagers. He may ask the [796]
villagers to offer pigs, yams and *pola* (plaited coconut leaves used as a 622
food tray) piled with food cooked in the earth oven, on special occasions 644
like the birthday of the Queen or the two princes or on the feast to an [565]
honoured guest. Sometimes he visits the palace in the capital to serve [661]
the guest of the Queen. When the Queen visits other islands of the
Kingdom, he may follow her as his ancestor did. But his most important 796
duty as a *matapule* is to attend the *fai kava* given by the Queen which is 574
usually held on her birthday in the palace or in the open space in front 644
of the palace. The order of drinking *kava* is as follows; the Queen, 622
Lauaki, Motua paka, Noble Nuku, Noble Luani and Tevita Leka.(7) 565

In the village life Leka has a special role in catching the *ika faka* 622
fonua, literally 'the fish of the village". The *ika faka fonua* of Nukuleka 226
is the *matai*, a hammer-headed shark, that comes near the coast from
October to March. If the *matai* does not appear in this season, Leka [782]
goes to the graveyard to offer *kava* roots and to pray to his ancestor. This
prayer will be heard without fail. Anyone who sees a *matai* out to sea
calls *"Matai, Matai!"* when all the villagers gather on the beach, and men
both young and old sail out with sticks and paddles in their hands. As
soon as Leka hears the call of *matai* he hurries to his home. While they

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7. This seat-ordering which Leka indicated is not different from the *kava* ring cited by Collocott. Collocott 1927: 23.

Malae is thus divided by the several kin groups but without an actual 764
fence of demarcation. The people buried in a section of *malae* roughly
coincide with those who belong to the same *famili* organisation, but not [612]
always. There are mainly three reasons for this discordance. Firstly, it
is not allowed to dig a grave in the same spot for about five years after
the last burial, which means that one who dies within the five years may
be buried with members of another family. Secondly, belonging to a [593]
section in the *malae* seems, in the main, to be patrilineally decided; a wife
may belong to her husband's place, children except married daughters to
their parents' place. But the dead may, under some circumstances, be [593]
buried in a section on the basis of their relationship with mother or wife.
In the section of 30 at *tua fale kakau* 30's father as well as his unmarried daughter and 4's son were buried in these years. 30's father was born in Mu'a and came to this village to marry. When he died, he was buried at the corner of the Pualiki's section, probably because Pualiki's sister was his wife. Since then, the section of 30 seems to have acquired its position separately from the main section. Thirdly, a local bond is also recognised in deciding the section in which one shall be buried. For if a person from another village happens to die while staying here with some family, he will be buried in the section to which the family with whom he was staying belonged. A woman married out of the village died while she was back at her native home. She was buried beside her parents' grave.

Church Affiliation

All Tongans are Christian. We can not understand fully the village 795
life without Christianity. There are a number of religious observances [796]
for example, attendance at church service several times a week, strict [512]
keeping of the Sabbath, prayers before each meal and before going to
bed, which are integral parts of daily life for the villagers .

The Free Wesleyan Church, the largest in the Kingdom, holds a
large majority of the village members. After this sect come the Free
Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church and a few Mormons in
this order. There are three churches in this village. The Free Wesleyan 794
Church and the Free Church of Tonga have professional stewards who
stay here during the term of their service. The steward of the Catholic
Church is a villager. The Mormons go to church in the next village. [368]
The following table shows the church affiliation of the *famili* organisation. [612]

The basic principle in church affiliation is that a wife should follow 795
her husband, and the children should follow their father, which indicates [593]
a patrilineal principle at work. But this is not always the case, as is
shown in the table. In one case the elder brother (11) is Catholic while the younger brother (15) is Mormon. They may change their affiliation, for example in accord with the school-religion in which they were educated, or sometimes of their own free will.(13) 32 gives an example. He was a member of the Free Church of Tonga until 1956, but some unpleasant matter in the church made him and all the members of his nuclear family change their membership to the Free Wesleyan Church to

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13. Beaglehole 1941: 128-180.

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MACHIKO AOYAGI

If a man attends church service regularly and keeps on doing good, 795
he will be allowed to be called *lotu fefui* (catechumen), and if he can keep 554
on having a good record a few years more, he will be elevated to the
status of *malanga*. A few excellent men among the *malanga* may be
promoted to *faifekau* by the church president.[14] It is a great honour
and much respected to become *malanga* or *faifekau*.

Fakaafe for the New Year

The last day of the year, it is said, is the most important day for 796
the Tongan. On this day, the members of the Free Wesleyan Church, the
Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga have *fakaafe*, a feast,
thanking God for the peace of the past year and praying for the happiness
of the coming year. Each *malanga* is invited to one *fakaafe* to say a
grace. After the feast, a *malanga* is presented with a bark cloth and a *sisi* 796
(ornamented girdle or waist band or festoon made of flowers and leaves) 574
by the host. It is a great honour for anyone to give *fakaafe* on this [292]
occasion. This privilege is conferred upon him by the steward of the [554]
church. In this village, eight men, (4, 6, 14, 16, 29 - steward, 30, 32, 34) [794]
in the Free Wesleyan Church and four men (2, 18, 26, 27) in the Free
Church of Tonga have been privileged to give *fakaafe* for many years.
Some of their kinsmen who help to make *umu* (food cooked in an earth [252]
oven) are then invited to share the joy of the feast. This occasion offers
us a good opportunity to observe kinship functioning. The details of
the feast are as follows:

TABLE 8 — *Fakaafe*

Household number	Those who prepared food	Those who took a meal together	Food served
4	the members of his household only	32 (*malanga*), 8 and his wife, The household members.	4 pieces of yam, 3 of *kape* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*), 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 2 chickens, etc.
6	his son and 12	30 (*malanga*), 5. The household members.	10 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 1 basket of sweet potato, some fish, 1 pig, 4 pounds of canned beef, 4 pounds of canned mutton etc.
14	two of his friends, the members of his household	28 (*malanga*), 20, a woman from another village.	6 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 3 chickens, 12 pounds of canned beef.

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[14] Rank differentiation in the different churches varies a little.

TABLE 8 — *Fakaafe* (continued)

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Household number	Those who prepared food	Those who took a meal together	Food served
16	24, 28, 23, 15, 22, 21's daughter's husband	22 (*malanga*), 4, 28, 23, 28's children, *24* & his wife, *15*, 5's brother, *21's daughter's husband*, husband's sisters, wife's sisters.	16 pieces of yam, 6 of *kape*, 20 of sweet potato, more than 20 fish, 4 pigs, 6 pounds of canned beef, etc.
29 steward	23's wife, his friends	5 (*malanga*), 8, 23's wife, wife's brother's son.	4 pieces of yam, a lot of sweet potato, 4 fish, 2 pigs, etc.
30	the members of his household, 31's wife.		
32	the members of his household only	The household members 29 (*malanga*), 34, 30's son, one friend.	6 pieces of yam, 1 of *kape*, 30 of sweet potato, 10 fish, 1 pig, etc.
34	1, 16, 5's son	6 (*malanga*), a couple of his friends. The household members.	5 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 40 of sweet potato, 20 fish, 1 pig, etc.
2	the members of his household only	7 (*malanga*), *33's wife 33's brother and his wife, 8 and his wife* (2's daughter), *9's daughter.*	4 pieces of yam, 4 of *kape*, 2 baskets of sweet potato, 1 fish, 1 pig, 1 chicken, 1 duck.
18	the members of his household only	*malanga* (next villager), 2, 27 and his wife, 25 (steward) and his wife, *19's wife.*	8 pieces of yam, 1 of *kape*, 6 big fish, 4 small fish, 2 pigs, etc.
26	31	18, 25, 27, 31.	8 pieces of yam, 8 fish, 1 pig, etc.

Note to Table:

Those italicised belong to different religious sects from the host.

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Those kinsmen who help and are invited vary according to the scale 796
of *fakaafe*. For example, 16 gave one of the biggest *fakaafe*. Those who 574
gathered for cooking on this occasion were his half brother (24), his 602
mother's half brother (28) with his son (23), his father's father's brother 612
(22), his wife's brother (15), and 21's daughter's husband, between
whom and 16 the relationship was not clear. They all belong to the Free [795]
Wesleyan Church except 15 and 21's daughter's husband, who are
Mormons. The villagers stress that the feast is offered to the God, not [776]
for themselves, and they know that the feast is under the prescription of
the church. The privilege of giving the feast is conferred by the steward, [794]
who also selects *malanga* to be invited, but those who help and attend it
are not necessarily the same sect members. In case of 2, a member of [795]
the Free Church of Tonga, he invited his mother's sister's sons with their
wives (33) and 9's daughter of twelve years old, all of whom are Catholic,
and his daughter with her husband (8), members of the Free Wesleyan
Church. He invited no one except *malanga* from his own church.
Mutual help among relatives is still found on such an occasion of religious [476]
character. Yet, this does not mean that those who participate are selected on the basis of *famili* or *famili* organisation. There seems no particular rule for selecting the participants.

On the last day of *uike lotu* (a prayer week in the beginning of the [782]
new year), Pualiki gave one of the biggest feasts in the name of his second
son. Eighteen pigs and more than twenty chickens were cooked for this
feast, and over twenty men helped the famil yin preparation. Pualiki was [476]
helped by one or two men each from 14, 10, 1 (his sons' households), 34, 18, 31 (his brothers' households), 7, 6, 20, 23 (the households of his mother's relations); four men from 4 (the household of his father's relation); three men from 9 (the household not related).

It is difficult from this list to determine which side of his relations [476]
helped him more.

Land Use

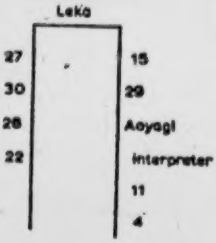
According to Tongan law, every male Tongan on reaching sixteen 423
years of age, is entitled to receive a grant of 8¼ acres as *api tukuhau* and [884]
1 rood 24 perches as *api kolo*. But the actual circumstance is not always
in accord with the law. Even in Nukuleka, which is the Government 423
Estate, only 21 men over sixteen years of age have *api tukuhau*, while 28 621
have not. Among the 28 men, there are those who are not married or, even if married, are still living with their father or wife's father or elder brother who have *api tukuhau* in the same households. The remaining 11 men out of the 28 keep nevertheless their own independent households.
The following are the relations from whom these 11 men borrow part of 423
api tukuhau for cultivating: father; mother (she has received it from her 426
second husband); mother's half brother; grandfather and his brothers; 621
father's mother's sister's son; the third cousin; wife's father; wife's mother; wife's brother and her sister's husband; one who is not related; Catholic Church.

It is evident that all except two men borrow the land from their 423
famili or wife's *famili*. *Famili* members should help each other. They 621
612
426

This fact suggests partly that there is no system into which all the people 554
who were gathering at the circle recognised. 593

While I was staying there, I happened to be invited to a feast at the 602
end of the year given by the second son of Pualiki, at which most of the 276 585
villagers were present. The following Fig. 6 is the table showing the 574
seat arrangement. People took their seats around the long *pola* (food 574
tray made of coconut leaves). Leka sat in the front of the *pola*, on either [123]
side of which the officers of the church sat down. The other people, I
was told, might sit down freely anywhere. Among the ten persons, namely 574
Leka and the church officers, 27 belongs to the Free Church of Tonga, 576
15 to the Mormons, 11 to the Catholic, and all the rest are the members 795 554

FIG. 6 Seat-ordering at a fakaafe



[123]

of the Free Wesleyan Church. The speech at this feast was given by 554
Leka, first, followed by 15 (*matapule* of the Queen), 1, Pualiki's wife, 30 574
(town officer) and 29. In spite of the fact that 11 is the elder brother of 576
15 and 15's *ulu i famili*, his seat is lower in the seat order than 15's. It [537]
is also incomprehensible why 11 who is a steward of the Catholic Church
took such a low seat compared with the *malanga* of the other churches who
were invited to the places of honour.[30] From 30 to 32 are all *malanga* [561]
of the Free Wesleyan Church who sat in order of the age. Whereas 29
is young, he is highly respected by people as a steward of the Free
Wesleyan Church and always occupies a seat next to Leka in the meeting
of church members.[31] In short, the internal rank of the villagers based 574
on the kinship structure was not reflected in the feast at all, but the 554
rank in the church such as *malanga* and *faifekau* was highly esteemed, 621
and one's age or administrative or honourable status such as town officer 794
or *matapule* were considered among those *malanga* and *faifefau*.[32] It is 56
easy to see that the *malanga* of the church took the places of honour [796]
because this feast which was given as a church function was dedicated to
God. Nevertheless, this was the only occasion in which an outsider could
know the rank of the villagers.

[30] Professor Newell suggested to me that the antagonism between Catholics and Protestants may explain this in part. [798]

[31] For instance, in *fakaafe* hosted by no. 28 on the day of Christmas nos. 6 (Leka), 5 and 30 (town officer) seated along one side of the *pola* in this order. On the other side of it no. 29 seated facing No. 6.

[32] For example, in *fono*, village council, the villagers gather to sit choosing any place around the town officer who conveys the Government instruction. [623]

46: Decktor Korn

OU9 Tonga OU9

796

[For information about regular feasts held by the various religious congregations, see Categories 794 or 574, pp. 181-195.]

794 562 difference to one's behavior as a member of the congregation beyond the fact that it is a valued status that signifies decency and full adult womanhood. [796] [574] But only men of lay preacher status--of whom there were 78 out of a total of 104 adult males in the congregation of the Free Wesleyan Church in Motulahi in 1970--may preach a sermon, and generally only a lay preacher may act as host at a 794 554 congregational feast. Both of these are status-enhancing activities, for the very fact of a public performance of this sort is implicit affirmation of the person's rectitude. Indeed, any situation in which a person has been appointed to act publicly as a special member of the congregation is status-enhancing. (Admittedly, some situations or occasions are more prestigious than others; thus, to deliver the sermon or host the feast on Christmas Day is more status-enhancing than to do so the Sunday before Christmas, and to be steward of the congregation is more prestigious than to be choirmaster or teach Sunday School.) [796] One of the indicators of whether a person is highly regarded beyond his own village is whether he has been asked to preach a sermon beyond the boundaries of his home congregation.

793 794 The minister of the congregation, generally a full-time pastor appointed to the congregation by the national governing body of the church, decides who will be asked

121 feature characteristic of these societies is the optative and changeable nature of the composition of household groups.

Fluctuating patterns of household composition have received less attention than other features that are characteristic of Oceanic societies. Usually they are discussed within the context of studies of land-holding groups, and they have generally been treated either as a secondary aspect of ecological adaptation or as a by-product of the flexibility of social organization in these societies. Studies that focus on actual settlement patterns, however, are more actor-oriented than are studies of land-holding groups. This different focus directs attention to what I take to be a lack of conceptual clarity in the use of such terms as "option" and "choice" in discussing the diverse behavior of different people in a society. This problem emerges in the final section of the paper, where I consider the meaning of the data that are presented here.

VARIATIONS IN HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

101 Tonga, a country of about 150 islands, lies east of Fiji and south of
[131] Samoa. (It is also known as the "Friendly Islands"—a name given by
[195] Captain Cook, who visited Tonga in the course of his voyages of 1773-74
[162] and 1777.[1]) About 40 of the islands are inhabited, with a total
[161] population in 1970 of more than 80,000; three-fifths of the people live
[131] on the main island of Tongatapu. The total land area of the country is about 256 square miles, two-fifths of which is Tongatapu.

361 Although there are only four centers of administration and com-
162 merce in which social differentiation is such that they can properly be called "towns," about one-third of the total population is clustered in these areas (two are on Tongatapu). The remaining population lives in villages that are dotted throughout the islands in a nuclear pattern of village settlement; this settlement pattern is largely the result of practices established during a period of civil war that lasted from 1797
[433] until the mid-1800's. Most of the people who live in the rural areas and many of those who live in the towns are wholly or partially dependent for their livelihoods on peasant agriculture.

592 There is no consensus among Tongans on what composition
[829] constitutes the ideal household, but all adults would agree that the ideal household is one in which I, the speaker, am the head. Most Tongans would probably say that a household ordinarily comprises a single family unit consisting of a married couple and their unmarried children. Not all households conform to this pattern, however. In fact,

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[177] [1] Tonga was first visited by Europeans in 1616, but sustained contact with Europeans did not begin until almost the end of the 18th century. Despite considerable European intervention
[797] since then, including the Christianization of the entire population before the end of the 19th
[648] century, Tonga has remained formally independent. In 1970, the Kingdom of Tonga joined the British Commonwealth of Nations.

1777

634 lear[n]t by Omai, was that all the people both young and old were to
look upon me as a friend who was come to remain with them a few
648 days, that they were not to steal or molest me in any thing, that they
565 were to bring hogs, fowls, fruit &c^{a} to the ships where they would
537 receive in exchange such and such things. Soon after Tapah had
done haranguing the people, Fenough left us and Tapah gave me to
understand it necessary I should make a present to the Chief of the
island whose name was *Earoupa*,[1] I was not unprepared and made him
a present that far exceeded his expectation, this brought upon me
two Cheifs of other isles and lastly Tapah himself. When Feenough
returned which was immidiately after I had made the last present,
he pretended to be angry with Tapah for suffering me to give away
so much, but I looked upon this to be all a feness. The Cheif again
took his seat and ordered Earoupa to set by him and to harangue the
people as Tapah had done, the subject was chiefly dictated by Feenough
634 and was to the same effect as the other. These Ceremonies
being over, the Cheif at my request conducted me to three standing
648 pools of fresh water as he was pleased to call it, in one indeed the
[312] water was tolerable and not inconvenient to come at.[2] After Viewing
the Water we returned to our former station, where I found a baked
[431] hog and some yams all piping hot put up for me to take on board. I
invited the chief and his friend to pertake of it they excepted my invitation
and we all imbarked for the Ship, but none but the chief sat
[431] down to table. After dinner I conducted them ashore and before I
came on board the Chief gave me a fine large Turtle and a quantity
[439] of yams, and we got by barter along side the Ship about twenty small
hogs besides fruit and roots. I was told that soon after we went ashore
609 in the Morning, a man came off and ordered every one of the Natives
a shore, probably it was to be present at the ceremony for that was
796 no sooner over than they returned.

634 SUNDAY 18*th*. Early in the Morning Omai, who generally slept
ashore, and Feenough came on board. After some time I accompaned
648 them ashore and was conducted to the same place as I was at the day
before, where a large concourse of people were assembled, I guess'd
some thing or another was going to be done but could not till what
[431] nor could Omai inform me. I had not sit long before near a hundred
[651] people came laden with Yams, Bread fruit, Plantain Cocoanuts and

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[1] Tongans cannot explain this name, or give an equivalent: possibly Alupe or Tealupe. Tealupe was the *matapule* of Uiha, close to Lifuka.

[2] There is still a well at Koulo, once merely a deep pond about four feet across, now with a concrete wall around it and a cover on top; its water is regarded as very good, at least for washing. This could very well have been the 'standing pool' Cook refers to, as Koulo would have been an easy stroll from the northern end of the bay.

farther than this island, nor were they in the possession of any but the Chiefs. 231

177 We were now ready to sail, but as the wind was easterly we had not day light to turn through the narrows with neither the Morning nor evening flood, the one falling out too early and the other too late; so that without a leading wind we were under a necessity of waiting two or three days. I took the oppertunity of this delay to be present at a public ceremony, which was to be on the 8^{th} and to which the King had invited us. He and all the people of note left us on the 7^{th} and repaired to M[oa] where it was to be performed. A party of us in two boats followed them the next morning and got to the place about 8 oclock. We found the King with a large Circle before him within a small dirty inclosure, such a one as I thought had not been in the whole place. They were as usual making a large bowl of Cava, and as this was no liquer for us, we walked out to visit some of our Friends and to see what was going forward without. About 10 oclock the people began to assemble in a large Area which is before the great house we were conducted to the first time we visited this Village.[1] At the end of a lane opening into this place were some Men with Spears & Clubs in their hands, some of them stood up and con-

Sun. 6 122 Mon. 7 651 796 Tues. 8 [276]

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were from an Island call'd Fidgee; they are yet great curiosities & only in the possession of the Chiefs.'—King, 20 June.

[1] The ceremony which Cook goes on to describe is one for which Anderson picked up the name 'natche'—Mariner's 'inachi', modern *'inasi*. Writers after Cook, starting with Mariner, are unanimous that what Cook witnessed was the great *'inasi* ceremony also described by Mariner (II, pp. 168–73), a sort of harvest festival. The word, says Mariner, meant literally 'a share or portion of any thing that is to be, or has been distributed out; but, in the sense here mentioned, it means that portion of the fruits of the earth, and other eatables, which is offered to the gods in the person of the divine chief Tooitonga, which allotment is made once a year, just before the yams in general are arrived at a state of maturity; those which are used in this ceremony being of a kind which admit of being planted sooner than others, and, consequently, they are first fruits of the yam-season.' They were planted late in June. The ceremony seems to have been held about October. But Cook's ceremony was early in July, too early for 'first fruits', and as he goes on to remark, a number of his ceremonial yams were 'emblematical'. Anderson, and perhaps others, were linguistically learned enough after their stay in Tonga not to be misled too much, and it seems therefore that he and Cook were right in thinking that the central part of this particular *'inasi* was the 'share' of the Tu'i Tonga's son, the 'young Prince', a sort of coming of age ceremony; possibly something to do with puberty. Or Cook's theory of an 'Oath of Allegiancy' to the Prince may have something in it. According to H.M. the late Queen Salote, his mother, Tupoumoheofo, was forceful enough to get the boy appointed Tu'i Tonga while his father was still living, in spite of Paulaho's objections—the only instance of such a thing in Tongan history. The ceremony might then have been one of installation. (This interesting hypothesis I owe to Miss Dorothy Crozier.) Whatever the truth of the matter, it is unfortunately impossible to interpret in detail the proceedings recounted by Cook. The *'inasi* ritual seems to have broken down in the unsettled period in Tongan politics at the end of the eighteenth century: Mariner writes (pp. 167–8), 'Although the ceremony of *inachi* was entirely abrogated by Finow just before Mr. Mariner left Vavaoo, we place it first in rank, because it always used to be considered of the utmost importance before it was done away with; besides which, it was a ceremony which affected the property of every individual in Vavaoo, and all the Hapai Islands, and formerly in the Island of Tonga also'. It must therefore have gone first in Tongatapu. The Hon. Ve'ehala,

651 796 643 644

651 tinued to sing short sentances, while a number of other men were
796 coming in with Yams, each tied to the middle of a pole. In the mean
time the King and the Prince came and seated themselves on the
[123] area, and we were desired to sit down by them, to pull of our hats and
untie our hair that we might appear the more decent. The men with the
[482] yams being all come in, each pole with the yam was taken up between
two men who carried it over their shoulders; and after forming themselves into companies of ten or twelve they marched a cross the place
with a quick pace each company headed by a man bearing a club or
spear and guarded on the right by several others armed with different Weapons. A man carrying a live Pigeon on a pearch Closed the
rear. Omai was desired to ask the Cheif where the yams were going
[644] to be carried to, he answered to be baked. This appeared probable
enough as we had been told that the occasion of this ceremony was
[643] him and his Son eating together, a thing that had never yet been
[264] done.[1] However as he seemed unwilling to give us the information we
wanted two or three of us followed them contrary to his inclination.
We found they had stoped before a Morai or Affiatouca,[2] which was
hardly a quarter of a Mile from the place where they first assembled;
here they were making up the yams in bundles but for what purpose
could not learn, and as our presence seemed to give them uneasiness
we left them and returned to the Cheif, who told us we might amuse
our selves by walking about awhile for that nothing would be done
for some time; the fear of loseing part of this Ceremony made us not
[784] be long absent. When we returned to the King he desired me to order
the boats crew not to stir from the boat, for as every thing would very
[688] soon be *Tabu*, who ever was found walking about would be *Mated*,
that is killed or beat. He also informed us that we could not be present
651 at the Ceremony, but that we should be conducted to a place where
796 we might see every thing that passed; objection were made to our
123 dress, to be present it was necessary we should be naked as low as the
breast with our hats off and hair untied. Omai offered to conform to

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[651] [796] [643] [644] the present Keeper of the Palace Records at Nuku'alofa, informs me that 'the Tu'i Tonga himself directed everything at the Inasi, no one knew exactly what would happen. There were no fixed rules. . . . Stories are told about the Inasi, but there are no details fot the actual ceremony itself and probably each Tu'i Tonga had his own arrangements for the performance.' Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 76–7) describes, from the memories of an aged informant of things seen in his youth, a ceremony, '(or perhaps entertainment)', that seems to have been one of the last traces of ancientry; but clearly this was of the '*inasi* proper. For what we may call 'the young Prince '*inasi*', Cook and Anderson remain the only glasses in which we can see, darkly.

[1] Eating together would imply complete equality, as of two co-existent Tu'i Tonga.

[764] [346] [2] The two things are not the same. The *fa'itoka* was the tomb structure, though it could also be a definite area about the mound where a chief's important retainers and distant relatives were buried (McKern, p. 31). The *maras* (Tongan *mala'e*) was in this context the open space for assembly in front of it.

this Custom and began to strip, other objections were then started so 651
that he could not be present no more than us. I did not much like this
restriction and stole out to see what was now going forward, I found 796
very few people stiring, except those dressed to attend the ceremony, 123
some of whom had in their hands a small stick about four feet long
and to them were tied two or three others not biger than ones finger.
These men were going towards the Morai before mentioned, I took
the same road, and was several times stoped by them all crying out
Tabu. I however went forward without much regarding them till I
came in sight of the Morai and the people who were seting before it;
I was no[w] urged very strongly to go back and not knowing what
might be the consequence of a refusal, I complyed. I had observed
that those people with the sticks passed this Morai or what I may
as well call church,[1] and thinking something was going forward
beyond it, which by taken a turn round I might get a sight of, but I
was so clos[e]ly watched by three men that I could not put this in
execution. In order to shake these fellows off I returned to the Kings
and from thence stole out a second time, but I was no sooner out than
I met with the same three men, so that it seemed as if they had been
set on purpose to watch me. I paid no regard to what the[y] did or
said till I came in sight of the Kings affiatouca or Morai before which
a great number of men were seting and were those I had seen pass
the other Morai from which this was but a little distant. Oberving
that I could watch the motions of this company from the Kings Plantation
I returned, very much to the satisfaction of those who attended
me. As soon as I got in I accquainted my companions with what I
had seen and we took our Stations to watch their Motions. Several
afterwards joined them and at length they all got up and Marched
off in Procession one after a nother, every two carrying one of those
small sticks over their shoulders. The small pieces of sticks that were 651
tyed to the others we were told were yams, so that probably they
were to represent this root emblametically.[2] The hindmost Man of 796
each couple for the most part placed one of his hands to the midd[l]e
of the stick as if it alone was not sufficient to support the weight that
hung to it, and under which they all seemed to bend as they walked.
This procession consisted of one hundred and eight couple, and all or
most of them men of rank; they passed close by the fence behind
which we stood so that we had a full view of them. As soon as they [123]
were passed we repaired to the Chiefs house and saw him going out,
we were not allowed to follow but was forthwith conducted to the

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[1] Only a *mala'e* was not a church, any more than it was a *fa'itoka*.

[2] The deduction was correct.

[1777]

651 place alotted us, which was behind a fence that fronted the first
796 Morai in which we took the liberty to cut small holes to peep through
the better to see what passed on the other side. As we were not the
123 only people who were excluded from being publickly present at this ceremony, but allowed to peep from behind the Curten, we had a good deal of Company, and I observed that all the other inclosures adjoining to the place were filled with people. But notwithstanding they admit this, all imaginable care seemed to be taken that they should see as little as possible, for the fences had not only been repaired that Morning but in many places raised higher than common so that the tallest man could not look over them.

On our arrival at our stations we found several men seated on our
651 right or on the left of the Area before the Morai and on each side of
796 the road which crossed it; others were continually joining them. At length some appeared carr[y]ing small poles or sticks, and branches or leaves of the Cocoanut tree plated into each other as when used for covering of Sheds &c^a. On these appearing a man seated himself in the road and with his face towards them made a set oraision and then retired back and the others passed on to the middle of the Area where they built a small shed of the Materials above mentioned; when done they all squated down for a Moment before it then rose up and retired to the other company. Soon after came the Prince, preceeded by four or five men and seated themselves on one side the Shed and rather behind it. Then came twelve or fourteen Women of the first rank following each other, two and two carrying between them a stripe of Cloth of about two or three yards in length; these marched up to the Prince, squated down before him, wraped some of the Cloth round him and those with him, then rose up and retired in the same order a little to his left and there seated themselves. Next came the King, preceded by four men two and two a breast, he seated himself on the Princes left hand, rather behind and about twenty paces from him; this was no sooner done then three parties of ten or a dozen men in each Started up and ran a Cross the Area, squated down on the other side for a Moment, then rose and returned in the same manner to their former stations. The Procession before mentioned now came in; to judge of the circuit they had made from the time they had been absent, it must have been pretty large. But before the procession appeared the Prince and those with him seated themselves under the Shed, the Prince sat facing us or rather the people and with his back to the Morai. As the Procession came in they March up to the right of the Prince, squated down on the grass, laid down their burdens (being the sticks before mentioned) faced

round to the Prince, then rose up and retired in the same order and 651
seated themselves along the front of the Area. Three men who sat
with the Prince continued to make an Oraision consisting of seperate 796
sentences all the time the Procession was coming in. After this a
man who sat in the front began an Oraision and at the several times
during it, went and broke one of those Sticks brought in in the procession.
As soon as this man had ended his Oraision the assembly
broke up and we were at liberty to go where we pleased; some repaired [123]
on board but I and two or three more remain'd to see the end
of the Ceremony, which was not to be till the next day.[1] The shed
was left standing and the small sticks or poles[2] brought in by the
Procession were left lying on the ground; after the assembly broke
up I went and examined them and found that to the middle of each
was tied two or three small sticks as has been related, yet we had
been repeatedly told by those about us that they were young yams,
insomuch that some [of] our gentlemen beleived them rather than
their own eyes, whereas it is clear we ought to have understood them
that they were only the representation of these roots.

Our supper was got ready about 7 o'clock it consisted of fish and 648
Yams, we might have had Pork also, but we did not chuse to kill a
large hog the King had given us for the same purpose. The King
supped with us and drank pretty freely of Brandy and Water so that [643]
he went to bed grogish; he and several of his attendants slept in the
same house with us. About one or two o'clock they waked and chated Wed. 9
for about an hour then went to sleep again. All but the Chief rose at 513
day break and went I knew not where. Soon after a Woman, one of
those who generally attended upon him, came in and asked where he 643
was, I shewed her him laying fast a sleep; she immediately sat down
by him and began to beat a kind of Tattoo on his breech with her
clinched fists, which in stead of keeping asleep as it was intended it
waked him, however he continued to ly down. This is a nother odd
custom which they have, whenever the King lies down to sleep or rist
two or three Women for the most part attend him, one of them beats
or taps gently with her fists on his breech or thighs and as she is tired
a nother takes her place, thus they continue some times a whole

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[1] 'they [Cook, Gore, King, Anderson and Omai] continued there the whole night except M^r King, who obligingly return'd in y^e Evening to relieve me, that I might see the ceremony of next day, as I could not go without such relief, Capt^n Cook having very properly order'd that the Ship should never be left wthout a commission'd Officer on board; while I was commanding Officer I had sent a midshipman with y^e Boatswain & a party to cut brooms, who was very ill use'd by the natives, the natives struck y^e midshipman & wrested his hanger from him, & altho' this was upon duty he was obliged tamely to put up wth y^e loss, as Capt^n Cook would take no steps to recover it. . . .'—Williamson, f. 64v.

[2] I have made an emendation here: the word is badly written in the MS, and looks like 'plates'—probably 'ploles', a slip for 'poles' as printed.

513 night.[1] One would at first think this would produce the Contrary
643 effect to what is intended but it is not so, for it creates a very agreeable
and pleasing sensation. Omai and I now went to visit the Prince
644 who parted from us early in the evening, for he did not lodge with
the King but in apartments of his own, or such as had been alloted
him some distance from his Fathers; we found him with a Circle of
Boys or youths like himself before him, and an old Woman and an
old man who seemed to have the care of him siting behind; there
were others both men and Women who seemed to make a part of his
household, that were employed about their necessary affairs in different
648 apartments. From the Prince we returned to the King, by this
time he was up and had a crowded Circle before him, composed
643 chiefly of old men; while a large bowl of Cava was preparing a
276 Baked hog and yams Smoaking hot was brought in, the greatest part
264 of which fell to our share, that is to the boats crew, for these people
eat very little in a Morning and especially the Cava drinkers. I afterward
512 walked out and visited several other Chiefs and found that all
of them either were or had been taking their morning draughts. Returning
512 to the King I found him a Sleep in a small retired hut with
two Women taping his[2] breech. About 11 oclock he got up, some fish
643 and yam, which tasted as it had been stewed in Cocoanut milk, was
brought him of which he eat a large portion and then laid down to
648 sleep again, when I left him to visit the Prince and to make him a
644 present of Cloth, Beads &c^a^ I had brought with me for the purpose;
there was sufficient to make him a compleat suit of Clothing, in
which he was immediately dress'd. He first went and shewed himself
to his Father, and then carried me to his Mother, with whom was
ten or a dozen other respectable looking Women. Here the Prince
changed his apparel and made me a present of two peices of their
648 Cloth. By this time it was pass'd Noon, when every one of us according
to appointment repaired to the Palace to dine and presently after
643 dinner was served up consisting of two Pigs and yams, I rouse'd the
262 King up to pertake of what he had provided for us. In the mean
time two Mullet and some shell fish was brought him as I supposed
for his dinner; he joined it to ours, sat down with us and made a
hearty meal.

651 Soon after dinner was over, we were told that the ceremony would

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[1] This was the sort of massage called *tukituki* (*tuki*, to strike). It served to relieve pain, lassitude, and fatigue, says Mariner, to 'give very great ease, producing a soothing effect upon the system, and lulling to sleep'.—II, p. 233. There was a variant: 'Sometimes, when a man is much fatigued, he will lie on the ground whilst three or four little children trample upon him all over; and the relief given by this operation is very great'.—ibid.

[2] *his:* MS *in*.

soon begin and desired not to walk out, I however had resolved to 651
peep no longer from behind the Curtin, but to make one of the 796
number in the Ceremony if possible; with this View I stole out of the 123
Plantation and walked to wards the Morai; I was several times applied to to go back by people who were passing to and fro, but I paid no regard to them and they suffered me to pass on. When I got to the Morai, I found a number of men seated on one side of the Area on each side of the road which led up to it; a few were seting on the other side the area and two in the Middle of it facing the Morai. When I got into the midst of the first company I was desired to sit down which I accordingly did. Where I sat down were a number of small bundles or parcels made up of Cocoanut leaves, and tied to sticks made into the form of hand barrows, all the information I could get of them was that they were *Tabu*. Our number kept continually increasing, every one coming from the same quarter; every now and then, one or another of the Company would turn himself to those that were coming and make a short spea[c]h in which the word *Arekee*, that is King was generally mentioned. One made a speach which made them all laugh heartily, others met with publick applause. I was several times desired to go away, and at last when the[y] found I would not stir, they, after some seeming consultation, desired I would bare my shoulders as they were, with this I complied[1] after which they seemed no longer uneasy at my presence. I sat here a full hour without any thing more going forward than what I have mentioned. At length the Prince, the Women and the King all came in as they did the day before and as soon as the King was seated three Companies ran forward and backward a cross the Area as they did then. Soon after the two men who sat in the Middle of the Area, made a short speach or prayer, then all of us started up and ran and seated our selves before the shed under which the Prince and three or four men were siting. I was now partly under the management of a man who seemed very assiduous to serve me and placed me in such a situation, that if I had been allowed to make use of my eyes, I might very well have seen every thing that passed, but it was necessary to sit with down cast eyes and as demure as Maids. Soon after the 651
Procession came in as the day before, with a Cocoanut leafe plated 796
round the Middle of the pole or stick which they bore on their Shoulders, and which they laid down with the same ceremony as they

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[1] 'We who were on y^{e} outside were not a little surprised at seeing Cap^{t} Cook in y^{e} procession of the Chiefs, wth his hair hanging loose & his body naked down to y^{e} waist; no [292]
person being admitted covered above y^{e} waist, or with his hair tyed; I do not pretend to dispute the propriety of Capt^{n} Cook's conduct, but I cannot help thinking he rather let [302]
himself down. . . .'—Williamson, f. 64v.

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796
did those the preceding day. This first Procession was followed by a second, the Men who composed it brought Baskets such as are usually used to carry provisions in and made of Palm leaves. These were followed by a third Procession who brought in different kinds of small fish stuck to the end of a forked stick.

The Baskets were brought up to an old man whom I took to be the Chief Priest and who sat on the Princes right just without the Shed. He held each in his hand till he made a short speach or prayer, then laid it down and called for a nother and repeated the same words as before and thus he went through the whole. The fish were presented one by one on the forked Sticks as they came in to two Men who sat on the left and who till now held green branches in their hands. The first fish they laid down on their right and the second on the left; when the third was presented, a stout man who sat behind the other two, reached his arm over between them and made a snatch at it, as also did the other two at the very same time, thus they seemed to contend for every fish that was presented, but as there were two hands against one with the advantage of situation the Man behind got nothing but pieces, for he never quited his hold till the fish was torn out of his hand and what remained in it he shook out behind him and the others laid what they got on the right and left alternatly. At length either by accedent or design, the man behind got a whole fish without either of the other two so much as touching it, at this the word *Ma rēē ai*[1] which signifies very go[o]d or well done, was uttered in a low voice throughout the whole crowd. It seemed that he had now performed all that was expected of him, for the few fish that came after he made no attempt upon. These fish as also the Baskets were all delivered by the persons who brought them in seting, and in the same order and manner the small sticks had been
[123] brought in and laid on the ground. After the last procession were all come in there was some speaking or praying by different persons, then on some signal being given we all started up and ran several paces to the left and sat down with our backs to the Prince and the few who remained with him and I was desired not to looke behind me, Niether this commandment nor the remembrance of Lots wife, discouraged me from facing about, when I saw the Prince had turned his face to the Morai; but this last Movement had brought so many people between him and me that I could not see well what was doing; but was afterward told that the King and Prince were each presented with a piece of roasted yam, this was the more probable as all the people turned their backs to them at this time. After some little

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[1] *malie*, 'fine, splendid!'

time we all faced about and formed a large semicircle before the 651 Prince, leaving a large open place between us. Presently there appeared 796 some men coming to wards us, two and two bearing large sticks or poles on their Shoulders making a noise like singing and waving their hands as they came. As soon as they got close up to us they made shew of walking very fast without advancing a single step; presently three or four men started up from the crowd with large sticks in their hands and ran to those new comers who instantly threw down the poles from their shoulders and ran off, and the others fell on these poles and beat them most unmercifully and then returned to their places. As the men ran off they gave the challenge 651 usual in wristling, and not long after a number of stout fellows came from the same quarter, giving the Challenge as they advanced, these 796 were opposed by a party who came from the opposite side almost at 526 the same instant; these two parties paraded the Area for a few minutes and then retired each to his own side. After this there was wrestling and boxing Matches for about half an hour, then two men 651 seated themselves before the Prince and made a speach address'd I 796 thought wholy to him, with this the ceremony ended and the whole [537] assembly broke up. I now went and examined the several Baskets which had been brought in, a thing I was not allowed to do before because every thing was then *Tabu*, but the ceremony being over they became simply what they realy were, viz. empty baskets, so that whatever they were supposed to Contain was emblematically represented, and so indeed was every other thing they brought in except the fish.

We endeavoured in vain to find out the meaning not only of the [124] whole but the different parts of this ceremony, we seldom got any other answers to our enquir[i]es than *Tabu*, a word which as I have before observed is applied to many other things. But as the Prince was the principal person concerned in it, and we had been told by the King ten days before it happened, that the people would bring in yams for them two to eat and even described some part of the ceremony, we concluded from this and what we saw, that it was an Oath of Alligiancy or solemn promise which they made the Prince as the immediate successor to the Regale Dignity, to stand by him and to furnish him with the several articles that were here emblematically represented. But be this as it will the whole was conducted with a great deal of Ceremonious solemnity, and that it was mixed with a great deal of Religion is evident not only from the place where it was performed, but from the manner of performing it. Our dress and [123] deportment had never been called in question on any account what- [292]

[302]

[516]

651 ever before. Now it was expected that we should be uncove[re]d as
low as the waist, that our hair should be loose and flowing over our
796 shoulders; that we should like them sit cross leged and at times in
123 the most humble posture with downcast eyes and hands locked to-
gether, all of which they themselves observed; lastly every one was
292 excluded but the Principle people and those who acted a part. These
302 to me were a sufficient testimony that they looked upon themselves
516 to be acting under the immediate eye of a Supreme Being. We were
told that a far greater or grandeur ceremony than this would be per-
651 formed on the same account in about three months time in which
796 ten Men were to be Sacrificed;[1] this is sufficient for us to beleive
that Human Sacrifices here as well as at Otaheite are considered as
782 necessary. . . .

Before the Ceremony was over the day was far spent and as we
122 were some distance from the Ships and had an intricate Navigation
to go through, we made haste to be gone. When I took leave of the
648 Cheif he press'd me much to stay till the next day to see a funeral
643 Ceremony. This was the wife of Mariwaggy and Mother in Law to
the King, whose Corps, on account of the late Ceremony, lay on
766 board a Canoe in the Lagoon; he told me as soon as it was over he
would go with me to Middleburg, provide[d] I would wait, if not he would follow, for if it had not been for the death of this Woman, most of the Chiefs would have accompaned us to that island, all of them having possessions there. I would gladly have waited to have seen this Ceremony also had not the tide been now favourable for the Ships to get through the narrows, and the Wind, which for several days past had been very boisterous, Moderate and settled, and to have lost this oppertunity might have detained us a fortnight longer; beside we were told that the Ceremony would last five days and this was too long for me to wait in a place where I could not put to sea at pleasure. I however told him that If we did not sail I should certainly visit him again the next day, and so we all took leave and set out for the Ships where we arrived about 8 o'clock in the evening.

123 I had forgot to mention that Omai was present at this last days
ceremony as well as my self, but we were not together nor did I know
651 he was there till it was almost over. Omai after wards told me that as
796 soon as the King missed me, he sent several people one after a nother
to desire me to come back, probably these Messengers were not admited to come where I was, for I saw nothing of them. At last word

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[1] 'In about three months time' would mean October, the period of the regular *inasi* ceremony, the first-fruits or harvest festival described by Mariner; and men's lives could quite well be part of the harvest apportioned to the share of the gods. We cannot be dogmatic that Cook's 'on the same account' is either right or wrong.

was brought him that I had striped in conformity to their custom and 123
then told Omai he might go too, provide[d] he would comply with 651
all the necessary forms, Omai had no objection as it was only com-
firming to the Custom of his own Country, he was furnished with a 796
proper dress and appeared at the ceremony as one of them. Probably one reason why we were excluded at first was the apprehinsions that we would not comply with all the necessary forms.

While I was at [Mooa] I ordered the Horses, Bull cow and goats 231
to be brought thither, thinking they would be safer under the eye
of the cheifs, than left in a place that would be in a manner diserted 177
as soon as we were gone. Besides these Cattle we left with them a young Boar and three young sows of the English breed: they were exceedingly desirous of them, foreseeing no doubt that they would greatly improve their own breed which is rather small, Feenough also got from us two Rabbits a Buck and a Doe and before we left the island were told she had brought forth young ones. If the Cattle succeed, of which I have no doubt, it will be a vast acqu[i]sition to these islands, and as Tongatabu is a fine level country the horses will prove a usefull animal.

THURSDAY 10*th*. On the 10th at 8 oclock in the Morning, we 122
weighed anchor and with a steady gale at SE turned through the
Channel, between *Maccoha* and *Manooaffee*[1] it being much wider than 133
the one between the last mentioned island and *Pangemaudoo*.[2] The flood set strong in our favour till we were the length of the Channel leading up to the Lagoon,[3] where the flood from the Eastward meets that from the west, this together with the indraught of the Lagoon and shoals before it, causeth Strong riplings and whirlpools.[4] To ad[d] to these dangers the depth of Water in the channel exceeds the length of a Cable, so that there is no anchorage unless close to the rocks where you met with 40 and 45 fathom over a bottom of dark sand, but then here you would be exposed to the whirlpools. This frustrated the design I had formed of bringing the Ships to an anchor as soon as they were th[r]ough the Narrows, and going to see the funeral, I chose rather to lose that sight than leave the ships in a

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[1] Makaha'a and Monu afe.

[2] Cook has here made a slip: for 'last mentioned' read 'first mentioned'. The distance between the reefs on which Makaha'a and Monu afe lie, measured on the chart, is about 2½ cables—some 500 yards, though the channel ('the Narrows') now used is barely 1½ cables wide. The Monu afe reef runs eastward to form the northern side of Piha passage. The distance between the Makaha'a and Pangaimotu reefs is about ½ cable—100 yards or so.

[3] 'The Water is fortunately so clear, that we can see any danger before we are absolutely upon it. This is our principal dependance, for as I before observ'd, the rapidity of the Tide renderd sounding of very little Consequence.'—Clerke.

[4] 'Heavy tide-rips and overfalls', to quote the *Pacific Pilot*, II, p. 368.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

THURSDAY 3d. The wind SE. Moderate breezes with dull cloudy 132
weather. In the morning we unmoord and after breakfast weigh'd
and stood round the W end of Pangia-motoo, anchoring on its NW side [114]
in 17 fathom that we might take the advantage of a westerly wind to
pass the narrow[s] between Makkahàà and Mon'ooafai which leads
out to the eastward.

FRIDAY 4th. The wind ESE or SE. Moderate breezes with dull cloudy
weather and some rain. The Indians begin to collect again about the 439
tent as we have had more for these two days than some time past, &
they also bring a few Yams & other things to Barter.

SATURDAY 5th. The wind SE and SSE. Fresh breezes with close gloomy 132
weather and frequent showers of rain.

We had an Eclipse of the sun to day, the earliest beginning of which that could be observ'd happend at hours minutes seconds, but it was totally obscur'd by clouds a great part of the time it lasted especially towards the end. For several days before a great many spots were seen in that body which daily chang'd their number, magnitude & situation, but amongst others there was one place which had a groupe exactly like a cluster of nine islands.

The tent was struck and carried off in the morning and after the Eclipse the Observatory with all the other things and the party of marines went off.

SUNDAY 6th. The wind SbE or SSE. Fresh breezes with dark cloudy weather and some showers of rain.

MONDAY 7th. The wind SSE. Fresh breezes with some strong squalls and dark cloudy moist weather.

TUESDAY 8th. The wind SSE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather in
the morning but afterwards clearer and more moderate. The 648
Launches of both ships were sent to Mooa with the Cattle & horses
that had been left, and the Captn went to the same place to see a 177
Ceremony which Poulaho told us when we went last to visit him was 231
to happen about this time. We understood then that it was to be an
initiation of his son and heir into some privileges, amongst which was 651
that of eating with his father which he had never yet done, and as it 796
was only ceremonial that he would just eat a single mouthfull of Yam [644]
& his father the same. We found Poulaho in his circle of Kava
drinkers who told us that the ceremony would begin by and by, but
begg'd it as a favour that we would appear with our heads uncoverd
and our hair loose. About eleven oclock we went to the Ma'laee
where we were carried the first time of going to Mooa, but saw very

651 few people except about twenty who stood up in the end of a road
796 that opens into the Area, who kept constantly repeating a sentence in
a mournfull tone which convey'd some Idea of distress and that they call'd for something. This which they call ooee[1] was continued about an hour and in the mean time many people came down the road they stood in, each of whom laid a Yam before them or a bunch of ripe Plantanes wrapp'd up while others brought baskets whose contents we did not see. They then mov'd a little farther and continued the cry some time when they advanc'd a little more & sat down, the Yams &c being mov'd along with them each time. The whole amounting to 250 then got up and pass'd in slow procession before Poulaho, who sat on the grass, some carying the yams &c and others nothing but every one had either a club or spear in his hand. They pass'd on to the single Fya'tocka on the mount mention'd before & laid the things down but appear'd to have some reluctance in letting us pass that way, though we could see no reason why the whole should seem to be made so mysterious.

At present we saw there was an end to the Ceremony but were
[481] informd something else was to be done in the afternoon, and
accordingly after dinner they told us that we must not walk in any of the roads except that which led down to the boat, or else if we were seen there was people who would knock us down with clubs which they said was also the case with themselves. We however transgress'd a little and really saw no person in the roads though many were looking through the fences, but at the large Fya'tocka near Poulahos house there was a great many men collected together, whom we shortly after saw to the number of six hundred walking by pairs in
[482] procession through the principal roads. Each pair had a long pole which they carried on the shoulders as if with a heavy burden, but they had only three bits of sticks or small yams about the thickness of a finger and six inches long tied to the under part. We were only
651 permitted to look at these through the fences, and as the mysterious-
796 ness seem'd to increase we urg'd Poulaho to be present at the cere-
123 mony, but he made several excuses by saying we must undress and go cloath'd like them and that we would not be able to sit long enough
[784] in a requisite posture, in either of which cases he alledg'd that if we
[761] transgress'd God would certainly kill him.

He however said that we should see everything that pass'd through a fence, and order'd some people to take us to an inclosure adjoining the Area of the Fyatocka where the Yams were carried to in the forenoon. The fence unluckily happen'd to be of that sort which is quite

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[1] *ui*, to call out.

close but we cut holes in it with our knives, to which they made but 651
few objections, and saw two or three hundred people sitting on the 796
grass near the end of a road that opens into the Area. In a little time
a few men carrying some small poles and old Cocoa nut leaves came [123]
with which they erected a small shade or roof near the middle of the
space, and upon their first appearance an old man pronounc'd a long [344]
oration in a serious tone much after the manner of some itinerant [537]
preachers, which with a shorter one spoke by a different person after
he had finish'd lasted all the time the shade was raising.

Soon after came Poulahos son with a few attendants who sat down 651
a little aside from the shade, and shortly after thirty women well
dress'd walking slowly by pairs, each pair holding a narrow piece of 796
white cloth by the ends, which they carried to where the young prince 644
sat and retir'd to a distance, his attendants wrapping the pieces of
cloth that were brought about his body. Poulaho then appeard with
three or four attendants and sat down at a considerable distance from [643]
his son, who then went and sat down under the shade with the people that attended him, and a considerable number more seated themselves upon the grass before the shade or as it might be calld the royal Canopy of these people. Three companys of six or seven each then got up from amongst the large crowd a little after each other, and running hastily to the opposite side of the Area sat down for a few seconds and return'd running in the same manner. To them succeeded two men, each of whom held a small green branch in his hand, who got up and approached the prince, sitting down for a few seconds three different times as they advanc'd, and then turning their backs returnd in the same manner, inclining their branches to each other as they sat. In a little time two more did the same, after which the people we had seen traversing the roads in procession came in and laying down their sticks a little to the right of the shade, sat down at a distance, closing their hands which they held before them with the most serious aspect as they retir'd, during which time a person kept pronouncing an oration (perhaps a prayer?) in a melancholy tone. A profound silence ensued for a little time and then five or six men rose successively, some of whom were call'd by name, and each broke one of the sticks, after which the people sitting before the shade seperated to make a lane through which the prince with his attendants pass'd and the ceremony ended.

WEDNESDAY JULY 9th. The wind SSE. Moderate breezes with fine 132
weather. Having not observ'd Poulaho or his son eat as had been
expected yesterday we enquir'd the reason and found the Ceremony 651
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651 would continue to day when that part of it would be perform'd. Unwilling to let slip any part of it which might afford some informa- 796 tion of their religious or political opinions we went back to Mooa this morning, but found it did not begin till the afternoon. [644] There was none of that introductory part perform'd as in the forenoon yesterday, and the first thing we saw was the young prince immediately preceding the women with the cloth who were not so numerous today. He was dress'd with the cloth as before, and having retir'd under the shade after his Fathers arrival two men each with a bit of mat came repeating something seriously and put them about him. The procession then appeard which was not so considerable as yesterday, and instead of bits of sticks and yams carried a piece of Cocoa leaf plaited under the poles, but the last part had fish of all sorts which they laid [537] down in the same place. After this the men with branches and runners perform'd as yesterday, and then one man took each stick that had been brought and laid down, always repeating something to another who continued reciting a harangue in a serious tone, but when the fish came a person always made a snatch at & endeavourd to force them from the others but seldom succeeded, during which the [526] prince frequently turn'd himself round under the shade. The last part was twenty wrestlers who enterd the field challenging, which was succeeded by several wrestling and some boxing matches, with this difference that one person directed it, which is not done in the common way nor did they proclaim the victory when any one was defeated. None of the people assisting in the ceremony to day were arm'd.

This ceremony which is call'd Natche[1] has so much mystery running through the whole that it is hard to tell whether it is most of the religious or political kind. That it should be done so secretly and with such restrictions as to exclude all but the persons immediately assisting[a] would argue it of the first sort, but there are many circumstances which perswade us to think that it has still a greater share of [644] the last. I apprehend it is a sort of oath of allegiance which they take to the heir of the crown (who seemd the principal person concern'd), and that the Cloth, mats, Yams & other things are mer[e]ly representations of what they engage to furnish him with in future, as they have done his father, who either from an ancient custom or

[177] [a] Captain Cook and Omai were both present on the place of action to day, the one with his cloaths off down to the waste & the other in a dress of the country, but it appear'd the natives would rather have dispens'd with such a proof of our curiosity had they not been averse to giving us offence.

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[1] *'inasi.*

perhaps to insure the succession wishes to see it done whilst alive. 651
This seems the more probable as all the principal people we had yet
seen assisted in the procession, and the solemn manner in which it is 796
executed appears as if they held it in a religious light, which is pro- [644]
bably done to secure the performance of promises which are often
broke if made independent of any such tie. The present Natche
might then be consider'd as merely ceremonial, for the small quantity 651
of yams that we saw the first day could not be intended as a general 796
contribution, and indeed they made us sensible they were a portion 782
consecrated to the O'tōōa or divinity. But they inform'd us that in
two months there would be one of great consequence in which not
only the tribute of Tonga but that of Hapaee, Vavaoo and all the
other isles would be brought to the chief, and confirm'd more solemnly
by sacrificing ten human victims from amongst the inferior sort of
people on the occasion, an action that ought to be imputed rather to
the rigid execution which old superstitious customs require than the
inhumanity of these people. On enquiring the reasons of so barbarous [784]
a practice they only said it was a necessary part of the Natche, and
that if they omitted it the Deity would certainly destroy their King
for his impiety—a lesson which though it teaches us the propriety of
discharging religious duties is at the same time a strong monitor
against admitting superstition into the religion and policy of a whole
nation or even particular sects.

THURSDAY 10th. The wind from SSE to ESE. Moderate breezes with 132
fine weather. About eight in the morning we got under way and
work'd through the passage found by the Master between Makka'háá
and Mon'ooafai, which in one place is not above a quarter of a mile 114
broad but continues narrow for a small space only. Its direction is 133
about SSE and NNW, the wind at this time blowing directly in opposition to us, but we had the advantage of a flood tide which set us fast through and a fine clear day which plainly discoverd the shoals on every side. After getting through there is a passage sufficiently broad between the shore of Tonga and the small islands Onne'vy &c clear to the eastward in which we work'd, but made little progress in the forenoon as the wind veer'd between SSE and ESE. About four in the afternoon we opened the N point of E'ōōa or Middleburg as we stood off, but finding no ground without stood in and about sunset anchor'd in forty two fathom a fine sandy bottom, less than half a mile from a narrow reef that runs parallel to & join'd with the shore of Tonga, the N point of the island bearing ENE, one to the westward of us from which a spit runs and Eoo'eegee

SUNDAY JULY 6th. Struck the Tents & got every thing on board. 122
The Sheep given to Malawaggee being neglected and ill used by the
Natives Captn Cook took them on board again to day. While we lay 651
here a grand Festival was observed on shore called Annachee, held
on account of Powlohow's eldest Son arriving at a certain age (about 796
14 or 15). At this Festival which lasted three days, were present 644
Captn Cook & Clerke with Omai & some of the Officers of the
Resolution. It was held in the interior part of the Island where
Powlohow & the Principal Chiefs lived. Captain Cook & Omai were
permitted to assist at the Ceremony, which they did dressed in this [291]
Country Habit with their Hair loose about their Shoulders & un- [302]
covered from the waist upwards. Powlohow's Son was seated cross [123]
legged upon fine Matts & the principal Chiefs of the Island came in a
Procession & made him Presents of Cloth & other Manufactures
with all kind of Provisions, & Captain Cook & Omai who joined in
the procession gave him some Hatchets, Beads & other Things—
every thing was conducted with great Solemnity & it was death for
any of the Natives who were not concerned in the Ceremony to be
seen near the Place, & such of our Gentlemen who were Spectators
through a Hedge were not supposed to be there. We supposed that at
this Festival the Chiefs were swearing Fealty & doing Homage to the
next Heir to the Crown, & that by the Presents they laid at his feet,
that they acknowledged all their Property was in his Power & that
they only held it at his Pleasure. And they told us that in about a
Month's time another Festival was to be held in the same place on 651
the like Occasion, at which the Chiefs were to do him Homage and
acknowledge their Lives to be in his Hands, by each of them killing 796
a certain Number of their dependents in his Presence, & they said 644
that about 50 human Sacrifices would be offered up on the occasion; 782
Pheenow was to kill the greatest Number of any of the Chiefs, his
Quota being six, the rest were to slay some four, some 3 & others two [634]
& one according to their different Ranks. This horrid business was to
be performed by the Chiefs themselves who knock the Victims in the
Head with a Club. We asked them if those who were to be sacrificed
knew that they were to be the Victims; they told us not & that if they
did they would run away, but that they were always taken unawares.
Such is the Savage Custom of these People, & in such a deplorable
state of Servitude do the lower Rank of men live among them that
they hold their existence but at the will of their Masters.

THURSDAY JULY 10th. At 7 o'Clock this Morning got under sail with 122
the Wind at ESE; employed all day in turning to Windward, at

535 not a *falefā matāpule*, is also known for his knowledge of the *me'etu'u-*
538 *paki*. He learned the poetry from his father Hopoate (who was mentioned earlier as having played the *nafa* at *me'etu'upaki* performances) and has written down what is reputed to be 'all' of the *me'etu'upaki*. Vaisima's example includes all of the stanzas of Kavapele and Mailau and several more. Some of these stanzas are quite long, one of them having over 20 phrases of poetry (in some cases it is difficult to tell where one phrase stops and the next begins). The movements of all the stanzas in Vaisima's repertoire are not remembered, and he does not know when they were last performed. The stanzas usually performed today are those of Kavapele's repertoire, because he is the one who usually does the teaching.

The *me'etu'upaki* is not a living dance genre. The choreographer decides which stanzas will be performed on a given occasion, what order they will be in, and what the number of repetitions will be. No new creations are added to the repertoire and there is no remembrance of anyone composing in this genre. Rather, this is a fossilized dance genre, passed on as learned for many generations without conscious
651 deviation. This dance, according to living Tongans, has come down from
796 ancient times and was performed for the Tu'i Tonga on ceremonial
[535] occasions such as the *'inasi*, first-fruits, ceremony at which time the
[649] people brought quantities of food to the sacred King to insure abundant
[648] harvests in the future. Tribute was also brought from Uvea, Futuna, Samoa, and Fiji, all of which were at one time subservient to Tonga.

127 ceremony, as I am concerned with the descriptions as representative hikitanga ceremonies in general. These corroborated descriptions can be used as the basis of statements of ethnohistorical facts on the hikitanga ceremony, funerary activities, and Tongan religion.

The ethnohistorical researcher attempts to acquire as many descriptions from different eyewitnesses observing the same behavior, preferably observed and recorded on the same date, in order to make as many external consistency checks as possible. The greater the consistency of comparative descriptions, the more valid are the ethnohistorian's inferences and thereby the statements of ethnohistorical fact.

Data on an Ethnographic Reconstruction: 'Inasi Ceremony

The ethnohistorical researcher must have background ethnographic
knowledge about the society being studied before reading, extracting,
127 and testing the descriptions from manuscript accounts. From previous
651 readings I not only knew that the 'Inasi was an important ceremony in
171 aboriginal Tongan society (Gifford 1929: 345), but also that the cere-
796 mony had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Vide Goldman 1970:
127 134ff.; Sahlins 1957: 24-25; and Williamson 1924). I tested the
121 statements made by the Wesleyan missionaries against known and accepted
ethnographic evidence concerning first fruit ceremonies in Tonga in
particular and Polynesia in general. This required reading the manu-
script, extracting specific descriptions, and comparing them with
127 accepted ethnographic evidence. The 'Inasi was an aboriginal Tongan
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127
651 ceremony which involved the presentation of produce and material goods
796 at certain times of the year. An ethnographic reconstruction of the
[121] Tongan ceremony can serve as a test of Sahlins and Goldman and can also
contribute to ethnological comparisons in Polynesia.

244 The Tongans were a horticultural people and the yam, or 'ufi,
262 was the main crop. The Wesleyan missionary Cross stated "the yam is a vegetable that is to the inhabitants of Tonga, what bread is to many in our native land" (Cross, Letter-Journal entry of December 3, 1830).
805 The aboriginal Tongan names of the respective parts of the year, based
244 on the lunar month and thirteen separate designated time periods (Dyson, Journal, April 7, 1863), indicate the importance of the yam to the Tongans. Thomas wrote that the month of June was termed "Hilinga kelekele" by the Tongans and that "they expect the soil to produce forth now" (Thomas, MS. A1959: n.p.). He also wrote that the Tongans "expect the soil to produce forth now" and of the yams of this time period, that "this is the earliest and the best yams" (Ibid.). For the European month of October, Thomas wrote: "Ooloo enga - Uluega" which is 'Uluenga for "Ooloo, the head, enga yellow" and at this time the yams "become yellow" (Ibid.).

127 Reading and extracting descriptions by the ethnohistorical
797 chronological-synchronous reading method reveals the changes in the
796 individual missionary's reporting capabilities. These changes of the
651 observer to the observed are evident in the examples from Thomas' manuscript accounts describing the 'Inasi, transcribed by Thomas as "Inache" and "Inaji." The first example is from Thomas' 1826 journal, when he

127 was newly arrived on the Island of Tongatapu:

> 797 The Inache or great feast will take place very soon,
> 796 a man or two are going about at night to keep the
> 651 hootooa or spirit down. The men have spears and if they meet with any man they kill him - at these times few people are about at night, and a great quietness is required.
>
> There's must be a fool of a God if he does not know when the Inache is (Thomas, Journal, September 2, 1826).

Thomas was an eyewitness to several 'inasi preparations and ceremonies during his stay and in 1841 he wrote in his journal:

> ...annual meeting called the Inaji. Thus though they partially acknowledge God, yet in their works they deny him, and ascribe their praise for the produce of the earth & those who are no gods (Thomas, Journal, November 24, 1841).

These two descriptions may be compared with the following descriptions by Thomas from a post-1850 manuscript where he wrote: "The Inaji. This was a solemn yearly feast held at the Mua" on Tongatapu Island. He wrote that it was held "in honour of the gods, at which young yams were brought, being carried by the priests from every part of the land, and presented to the god Hikuleo" (Thomas MS. 5: 19). In the same
[782] manuscript account he also stated that "The Inaji was an acknowledgement of their entire dependence upon the gods for the fruits of the
127 earth" (Ibid.). From the "fool of a God" in 1826 to the solemnity and
[797] "acknowledgement" after several decades as an eyewitness to Tongan life, the ethnohistorical researcher records the changes in Thomas' reporting capabilities.

[651] The term 'inasi was transcribed in the 19th Century Wesleyan
[796]
[192] dictionary as "Inaji" and defined as "a heathen ceremony; portion, part,

127
651
796 share" (Rabone 1845: 17). An earlier 19th Century definition from
192 Mariner, where the term was transcribed as "Inachi," has "a share; also
the name of a certain public ceremony of a religious nature" (Mariner
[643] 1817, II: no page number). The contemporary 20th Century definition of
the term, defines it as a verb: "to have or receive a share," and as
a noun:

> (In old Tonga) presentation of food to the Tu'itonga in a way that came to be regarded as inconsistent with the Christian religion (Churchward 1959: 561).

127 651 796 643 In aboriginal Tonga, as opposed to 20th Century interpretations of what aboriginal Tonga was like, the 'Inasi' ceremony was neither confined strictly to foodstuffs, nor was it presented solely to the Tu'i Tonga. On this latter point Lawry is quite clear when he wrote in October of 1822 when eyewitness to an 'Inasi ceremony on the island of Tongatapu, the only place where the 'Inasi was held (Vide Thomas MS. 5: 19):

> It is remarkable, however, that at present there is no Tooltonga - so they wave their yams before the place where he used to sit (Lawry, Diary, October 21, 1822).

127 651 796 Although yams are mentioned by Lawry, it is quite evident from other contemporary manuscript accounts that more than food was involved in the presentation. The island of Uvea, approximately 550 miles from Tongatapu Island (and outside of the Tongan archipelago) sent "pearl shells as tribute" for the 'Inasi ceremony (Thomas MS. 5: 23-24); the island of Niua Fo'ou, approximately 390 miles from Tongatapu Island, sent "iron wood of a superior kind" as well as "kie's, or fine matts to wear" (Ibid., pp. 23-24). Foodstuffs were also sent to the 'Inasi

127 ceremony; but they were not confined to yams: Toku Island, approxi-
651 mately 220 miles from Tongatapu, sent "the young of a sea bird" and
796 the island of Nomuka, approximately 70 miles from Tongatapu, "sent
fish from the sacred lake [which was] carefully prepared" (*Ibid.*) for
the ceremony.

With the above evidence, preliminary statements of ethnohistorical facts might be: Islands furthest from Tongatapu sent imperishables to the '*inasi* ceremony, even though certain Polynesian foodstuffs (including yams) do travel well for lengthy distances; or, Uvea and Niua Fo'ou sent items which were unusual at Tongatapu, or items "of superior kind."

The '*inasi* ceremony, then, involved more than presentation of
foodstuffs and as Mariner, a non-missionary, pointed out, it was a
127 "certain public ceremony of a religious nature." Aboriginal Tongan
651 religious beliefs were an important part of the ceremony since when
796 the *Tu'i Tonga* was present, the products were presented to him, and
643 when he was not, they were presented in his absence to the gods. Thomas
[776] wrote of the *Tu'i Tonga* that he was:

> viewed as the *representative* of the god Hikuleo; a kind of connecting link therefore between the people, and the god and his place was at Olotele [on the island of Tongatapu] [stress added] (Thomas MS. IA: 252).

127 There were two yearly '*inasi* ceremonies, the '*inasi 'ufimui* and the
651 '*inasi 'ufimotu'a*, and writing of the '*inasi 'ufimui* Thomas stated:
796

> 776 This was a solemn yearly gathering of chief and
> 782 priests from all parts of Tonga, which took place
> 244 at Mua [on Tongatapu Island] in the month of June,
> called Hilgakelekele, *to present what we may term*

> 127
> 651 the first fruits, or the first young yams to the
> 796 god Hikuleo, at his house at Olotele, as an acknow-
> 776 ledgement of their dependence upon him and the gods,
> 782 as the owners of the earth, the sea, and all things
> 244 and to unite to supplicate the gods, to bless the
> seed now about to be put into the ground, and to
> send them suitable weather of rain and sun, that the
> yams set may bring forth a crop, and that their labours
> may not be in vain (Thomas MS. 2: 262) [stress added].

This 'inasi 'ufimui, held at the height of winter in the Southern Hemisphere, or in approximately June or July, was not only an acknowledgement of "the first young yams" and the crops which were being planted, but was also a "thanksgiving to the odooa," or 'otua named Hikuleo, "for the late ripe yams" (eyewitness' description-interpretation of events of July 25, 1797, in Wilson 1799: 259).

The 'inasi 'ufimotu'a, derived from "'ufi-" and "motu'a" with the latter term meaning "mature" (Churchward 1959: 367), was held in approximately October-November. Thomas wrote that this was the acknowledgement "to show the prosperity of the land, that the old stock had
127 lasted till the new were fit to dig up" (Thomas MS. 5: 19). The
651 Wesleyan missionary Lawry's typescript diary has a description of the
796 first 'inasi he was eyewitness to on Tongatapu. Probably through the
typist's error, the term is typed as "Machee:"

> The great ceremony of Machee, one of the greatest
> festivals in Tonga, ceased to-day. It has continued
> [782] nine days. Its object is to bring the first fruits
> [244] of the earth and present them before the god who has
> sent them good yams. That part of the island were
> we live is called the Mooa, or metropolis of Tonga;
> and to this place the chiefs of Vavaou and the
> Hapais bring their machee, towards the end of the
> last moon the fleet of canoes and crowds of people
> by land rendering the Mooa a moving scene of universal
> bustle and stir. The ceremony lasts nine days.
> Every day has its special transaction [stress added]
> (Lawry, Diary, October 21, 1822).

127
651 The period of the 'Inasi was a time when all work on Tongatapu ceased
796 (Thomas MS. 5: 20). During the nine-day period of the ceremony,
singing, dancing, and games took place (Ibid.; Wilson 1799: 259;
[782] Mariner 1817, II: 207-215). This was all part of the religious aspect
involving the giving of thanks to the gods and the acknowledgement of
[565] their powers. The products brought to the Mu'a area were redistributed
[793] among the chiefs and priests of the various deities, including the
[643]
[437] Tu'i Tonga representative of the deity Hikuleo.

127
175 The following description from an eyewitness of the 1797-1800 period clarifies the interrelationship between chiefs and deities:

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> Their deities are numerous; and there is reason to think their prejudices are strong. Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their own particular patron. The deities of the districts are, on certain occasions, represented by several chiefs of those districts; so that their natches and other annual exhibitions are not mere public amusements but religious observances, whereon they think the lives and health of their chiefs, for whom they have great affection, entirely depend; as likewise the prosperity of the country in general: expecting the succeeding crop will be in proportion to the offering made at these times. They have two natches in the year, one when their yams are set, to procure the favour of futtafaihe; and the other when they gather them in, expressive of their gratitude [stress added] (W. Smith 1813: 155).

127 Smith's description of the two "natches" or 'Inasi 'ufimui and 'Inasi
[796] 'ufimotu'a corroborates what Thomas later wrote concerning the two
[651] ceremonies. The description that each Tongan "family of note" has a
[776] deity "whom they consider as their particular patron" helps to clarify the significance of the Takai-Fae relationship discussed earlier on the hikitanga (see pages 71-76).

127 The above ethnographic reconstruction of the *'inasi* ceremony
796 provides some new ethnohistorical evidence which enables us to confirm
651 or deny certain statements made by 20th Century scholars. Gifford
114
[643] (1929: 76) was correct when he wrote that the *Tu'i Tonga* acted "as
intermediary" between the Tongan people and the gods, but he was in
error when he wrote that the *'inasi* ceremony would be "impossible
without" the *Tu'i Tonga* (*Ibid.*), as Lawry's citation from 1822 makes
quite clear. Since Gifford was working with 20th Century informants
"memory culture" of an aboriginal ceremony in 1920-1921, and since the
'inasi ceremony was no longer performed when Gifford was in Tonga, this
is a good example of the justification of ethnographic reconstruction:
one reconstructs on the basis of eyewitness accounts and not on memory
[643] culture. Gifford points out that Farmer, an individual who published a
[776] book in 1855 (based on some missionary information), stated that the
Tu'i Tonga "was the high priest" of Hikuleo and it was in Hikuleo's
honor that the *'inasi* took place; but Gifford also points out that he
was unable to verify this statement when he did his work in 1920-1921
127 (Gifford 1929: 345). Because the ethnohistorical researcher pieces to-
114 gether an historical ethnography on the basis of verifiable evidence of
the past, he is "closer" to the actual aboriginal social and cultural
behavior than the ethnographer who attempts a reconstruction by means
of the memory information of the present.

[643] Gifford could not make a statement of ethnographic fact concern-
[776] ing the relationship between the *Tu'i Tonga* and the deity Hikuleo, but
I can make a statement of ethnohistorical fact that the *Tu'i Tonga* was
representative of Hikuleo.

she curses all her enemies and freely predicts for them all the major and 158
minor horrors of a Wesleyan hell. She struggles hard and excitedly to free 159
herself from restraining hands that she may make herself the instrument of 771
God's vengeance here and now. The ravings and the strugglings go on incessantly.
One cannot doubt, as one listens, that Christianity in its Wesleyan
variety has laid the deepest and most indelible impress on the woman's mind,
giving shape and form to all her worries and to all her blind striving to set
her mind once more at ease. All this proves that religion is the mortar that
holds together at least one Tongan woman's mind and, to vary the metaphor,
provides the form in which the sick mind sets when it tries to cure itself by
going insane.

Dr. Lopdell continued to treat this patient for some days. Then her relatives 158
decided that native medicine might be more efficacious. They therefore called 159
in a Tongan expert who diagnosed the case as one of possession by an evil 756
spirit. The woman was thereafter dosed and manipulated and whipped in an 755
effort to attract or drive the spirit from her body. At latest report she is surviving
this treatment and apparently making a slow recovery. Her recovery,
however, is never likely to be permanent.

I have brief notes from Dr. Lopdell of another manic patient, a mixed- 158
blood girl of about twenty, the onset of whose psychosis was apparently due to 159
thwarting in love combined with a hypersensitiveness and who felt inferiority
regarding her social status among the small European community in Neiafu.
Her two brothers had also displayed psychotic tendencies. As with the patient [771]
mentioned above, the girl's symptoms patterned themselves in terms
of religious symbols.

Dr. Lopdell mentioned four or five other cases of Tongan insanity in which 771
religion had played a similar role. And those who know Tongan life today
realize full well that Wesleyan Christianity has come to full seeding in the [158]
life and behavior of the modern—and normal—Tongan. Churchgoing occupies [794]
a large part of his time: four times each Sunday and three times each week
as a matter of normal routine; a week of churchgoing twice each day, to cele- [796]
brate each new year; miscellaneous services and prayer meetings seemingly
thrown in on the slightest excuse. Behind are laws of the state that not only [659]
establish a church, but implement its morality with secular authority, and [671]
a short 19th-century church history which includes among other minor events [798]
a major record of religious persecutions, exilings, and organized religious
warfare—Wesleyans against heathens, Wesleyans against Roman Catholics,
Wesleyans against Wesleyan schisms and Wesleyan defections. The record
is not a pretty one, but if the events have done nothing else, they have at
least burned Wesleyan Christianity into the hearts and minds of these Tongan
people; burned it deeply, painfully, but indelibly.

Tongan life today, therefore, has been born from the mating of John Wesley's teaching with the customs of a pagan people. The birth was clumsily caesarian. Plenty of blood was spilled and a good deal of tissue that got in the way was roughly extirpated. The now adult child, however, is seemingly strong and prosperous.

Summary

The case material here presented suggests the value of a study of psychic 121
stress in a primitive community, specifically in a present-day Tongan village.
It enables us not only to revalue the predominant cultural norms in such a
community, but also to trace out the lines of stress which result from the
impact of such norms upon the personalities of individual members of the
society. Such study is important in an aboriginal culture relatively untouched

671 It was forbidden for any women to remain indolent, and they were
[562] not to be assisted or fed since 'Our assisting the indolent is supporting that which is an evil'.[3]
[461] Sanctity of marriage was again an important feature of the
[581] 1850 Code in which Article VII declared marriage to be a
covenant which could not be broken during the lifetime of either
spouse.

797 The missionaries made no compromise regarding polygamy.
Giving up all but one wife was made one of the conditions of
595 acceptance into membership of the Church. 'I told the people',
wrote Thomas (Journal, 30 Mar. 1831), 'of many of their sins
particularly of the sin of Polegemy. I exhorted them to put away
their wives and keep one only and the Lord will then receive
671 them into his family'. This attitude is reflected in Article VII:
595 3 which made it unlawful for anyone to have more than one
spouse.

535 Dancing was a popular entertainment among Tongans. It was
mainly held at night time, and usually went on until the small
[832] hours of the morning. The excitement naturally whetted the sexual
appetite, and couples would melt into the darkness. This was, of
535 course, horrifying to the eyes of the missionaries who, like all
797 Evangelicals, viewed dancing with disgust, as a great enticement
to sin. Another reason for the missionaries' disapproval of dancing
● [796] was the fact that it was often performed in association with the
old religious ceremonies. Their views were expressed in Clause XI
671 which forbade dancing and heathen customs with a penalty of one
535 month's hard labour for the first offence and two months for
further offences.

689 The puritanical views on modesty, which the Wesleyan mission-
797 aries held, made it imperative for adequate and proper clothing
to be worn in public by the new converts. 'To dress otherwise,
291 leaving the body healthy and glad in the sunshine and fresh air

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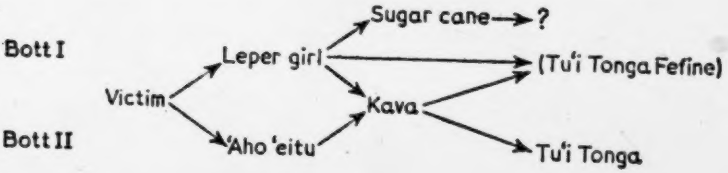
[3] Knowing the privileged position women occupied in Tongan society, Neill could not understand this seemingly extraordinary law. 'It is the husband', he wrote, 'who was, and still is, the working partner and
[462] breadwinner in the Tongan home' (Neill 1955:98). It may be pointed
[287] out, however, that women had the responsibility of making the *ngatu* (tapa cloth) mats and so on, which were needed in the home, and this was the work to which the clause referred.

539 sacramentally as kava, nor does the myth anywhere explicitly
773 assert that Nua is the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, but it comes as close as possible to making both these identifications. In any case both myths seem to imply equations between the murdered victim and human title holders through the medium of the kava, as in *Figure 2*.

Figure 2 Mythical transformations in Bott I and Bott II



Further 'equivalences' seem to be implied by the various references to the *kape* plant and to yams. The *kape* root could be used as a food of last resort and the implication of the reference to *kape* in Bott I is that the victim is substituted for the *kape* as an offering of food to 'the King'.

We meet with *kape* again in Gifford V where the girl Nua, who has previously been described as 'an old yam' and has been offered as sexual consort to the Tu'i Tonga, is told by her lover that 'the dripping of water on the *kape* leaf' is to be treated as a sexual invitation.

643 In the pre-Christian Tongan society 'by far the most im-
796 portant ceremony at which the Tu'i Tonga functioned was the
651 great annual *inasi* or offering of first fruits to the gods' (Gifford, 1929, p. 76). The central feature of this ritual was the offering
276 of yams to the Tu'i Tonga. Finally, perhaps we should notice
574 Bott's observation (*supra*, p. 213) that 'the pouring in of the water (onto the masticated kava root) is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony'.

539 We need to notice two particular features of this concatenation
773 of symbolic associations. First, there is a quite definite, though somewhat obscure, association between incestuous sex relations

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

fact that night dancing led to sexual promiscuity. Gradually the missionaries 797 realized that their interference with native customs and recreations had been over-stern and had reduced the natural joy of living that music and dancing had fostered.

The Sabbath was the clearest mark of a break with the past. Sabbatarianism became rooted in the converts' principles; and under no circumstances was either work or recreation permitted on the Sabbath. In Tonga, for instance, the 797 prohibitions were embodied in repeated legal enactments. Commodore Wilkes, of 796 the U.S. Exploring Expedition in 1839-40, considered that Sabbath observance [67] had become analogous to the taboos in heathen times.

The missionaries in Tonga, like the L.M.S. missionaries in Tahiti and 797 elsewhere, desired to set up a theocratic state. It was expected that the system of morality that the Church upheld would be enforced by the State. Whether this was desirable or not, it was possible only where there was ecclesiastical homogeneity. The ideal of the observance of public morality expressed the inherent Puritanism of Protestant Evangelicals. At its worst it was harshly negative; at its best, as it was designed to be, it represented both a quest for holy living and the promotion of social justice. An example of the latter was the emancipation of the slaves, an outstanding result of 18th-19th Century Puritanism. In spite of an unbalanced and over-rigid expression of their ideals, the Wesleyan missionaries endeavoured to express

> "those old Puritan, Nonconformist virtues which once undergirded the moral fabric of our dissolving society". (Professor Gordon Rupp, sermon in Westminster Abbey on Tongan Independence Day, 4 June 1970.)

It was unfortunate that the missionaries adopted a paternalistic attitude towards their converts. Especially in Tonga, the comparative ease with which success had come may have been responsible for a domineering and dictatorial spirit for which the Mission paid dearly when a reaction set in.

It was natural for those who knew the frailties of their converts to delay granting self-government to the indigenous Church. The Church in Australia, advised by the missionaries, was slow to concede this privilege to Tonga, with the tragic consequences of secession. Even so, the Church had learnt its lesson before the end of the Century, as the minutes of a meeting of the Mission Board in Sydney revealed, in a statement of policy on 7 February, 1900:

> "In the judgement of the Board it is desirable that the self-governing powers of the Mission Districts should be increased."

Controversies within the missionaries' ranks were generally infrequent, except in Tonga where they became scandalous and brought disastrous results. Isolation, long terms of service without furloughs, the very intensity of feeling which their ministrations engendered, were not the only causes of tension and dissension; the very human factors of personal ambition and jealousy sometimes operated, and certainly did so in Tonga, to the missionaries' shame and with grave injury to their work.

Interference in local politics was not only a breach of the "Instructions to Missionaries" but a cause of friction on a mission staff. Missionaries were asked to outline laws and codes for the guidance of the indigenous leaders. They were trusted, and indeed were the only Europeans available for advice in the early days. With Shirley Baker in Tonga, more than the giving of advice followed,

Tongans gave honour to women of high chiefly rank. The eldest daughter 644
of the Tu'i Tonga was the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (= female) who received greater [562]
respect than even her father or brother. Her daughter was called the Tamaha
(= Sacred Child) to whom even the Tu'i Tonga made obeisance. The first Tamaha
was the daughter of a Fijian chief from Lakeba, in the Lau group, who married
the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, in the early 17th Century; the last Tamaha died in
1852.(7)

Through careful inter-marriage the chiefs preserved physical and mental 565
superiority over the commoners. Though the chiefs had unlimited power and 622
were often oppressive they received from their people a loyalty that has remained
a characteristic feature of Tongan society. Tongans were industrious to the extent 181
that life in their fertile islands required and their service to the chiefs necessitated. 461
They, however, were regarded as rather indolent in contrast with their neighbours
in Fiji. The Tongans' pride was not only a relic of past domination over other 181
island groups. They had abilities that marked them as an outstanding race.
Ingenious, enterprising, self-reliant, they have been able to extricate themselves
from difficulties that would daunt most Europeans.(8)

The most important of the early voyagers who visited Tonga, Tasman (1643) [177]
and Cook (1773-4-7), gave testimony to the Tongans' peaceful and prosperous
state. They noted the gardens, carefully cultivated and surrounded with reed 361
fences, and the trim tree-lined paths connecting plantations. The people did not
live in villages and there was no sign of political unrest or dissension. It was
boasted that proclamations could be shouted from one household to another and
taken across the island of Tongatapu in a very short time.

Captain Cook's eulogies gave "The Friendly Islands" the attraction of a 181
tropical paradise that aroused false expectations in the minds of many ship
captains afterwards. Attacks on ships were due to a desire for the treasures [609]
suddenly brought into their remote islands rather than to any latent savagery in
the Tongans' nature. Normally the people were friendly and hospitable, with
genuine affection in their own domestic relationships and a prevailing gaiety
and good humour. Their natural buoyancy of spirit was displaced only by fears
of death or other impending disasters and, when faced with these, they had
recourse to their religion.

Tongans sat lightly by their religion except in times of distress and danger.(9) 771
Then they brought offerings to the priests' houses, sitting outside and making 782
supplication through the priests to the spirits in Pulotu, the paradise beyond the 773
ocean; these spirits, it was believed, had power over life and death. There was
no public worship. Music, of which Tongans were very fond, was not associated 796
with religion. The fear in which the gods were held made music inappropriate. 533
Tongans sang only in festival dances which gave the setting for their treasured [776]
lyrics, and in canoe journeys and working parties on shore.

Religion was bound up with the social system. Because the Tu'i Tonga was 771
believed to be divinely descended the chiefs who were related to his line by [643]
marriage shared in the reverence accorded to him. So many chiefs were closely [565]
related to the Tu'i Tonga that a visitor like Cook was easily puzzled by the
many who received quasi-royal honours. The chiefs received offerings for both 565
religious and social reasons. Pulotu was reserved for them; commoners, it was 775
held, had no souls and were not entitled to an after-life.

[1822-1823]

Lawry gave a graphic description of the presentation of first-fruits to the Tu'i Tonga as an offering to "the god who sent them good yams". Thousands, including great numbers from Ha'apai and Vava'u, were present at the festival which lasted nine days. Lawry noted that in actual fact there was no Tu'i Tonga at that time and "so they waved their yams before the place where he used to sit".(10) 797 796

The lying accusations which Morgan and other rascals had made against the L.M.S. missionaries were now repeated against Lawry. It was said that he, too, was a spy sent by the British Government and that, as the earlier missionaries' prayers had been followed by the deaths of chiefs and by ruinous wars, the same tragedies would befall Tonga again. One chief told the others that in a dream a departed relative had come back to tell him that the white man would "pray you all dead". "Now," Lawry wrote, "there is no hope of the Mission prospering." (11) Plots were formed against the Mission party, with extensive plunder as the first objective. Singleton's vigilance saved Lawry more than once. Later, when John Thomas succeeded Lawry, he was told that there had been four distinct plots against Lawry and that the chiefs had been undecided about whether to wait for a returning ship in order to get still more goods by attacking both the ship and the party on shore. 797 609

The chief Palau, on whom Lawry had relied for protection, sometimes stole his goods and disturbed him greatly with his unreliable attitude.(12) On 1 January 1823 Lawry reviewed the situation and wrote —

> "Hitherto we seem to have done nothing towards the conversion of these heathens. We cannot speak the language and the white man" (Singleton) "who resides among us cares not to interpret spiritual things to them."

In some respects Lawry seemed strangely inactive. He did not build a chapel nor begin a school. He relied on visits to chiefs and conversing with them through an interpreter. On the other hand, the visits he received were most embarrassing; as many as ten chiefs at a time would descend on the mission house and expect to be entertained with cooked meals in European style and they would be accompanied by from 50 to 100 of their people also looking for hospitality.

Lawry did his best with the language but with very little success. There was nothing to guide him (he did not know Mariner's vocabulary) and Singleton was not a very helpful tutor. Nevertheless, Lawry felt he was making "pretty good progress" (27 March) and, on 23 May, he recorded an attempted conversation with some of the people about the fundamentals of Christianity. 797

Mrs. Lawry had a miscarriage on 16 February 1823. It was thought to have been caused by heavy washing and by lifting tubs in the intense heat. Later in the year she was pregnant again and Lawry feared for what might happen if childbirth occurred in Tonga, without any female assistance. The little child, Henry, was often ill. The stores were exhausted, the dearth of goods for barter aggravated the relations with the people, and the missionary's clothes were almost worn out. The *St. Michael* did not return until 12 July 1823, much later than expected. Lawry now determined that he must leave on the vessel, chiefly because of his wife's condition.

Furthermore, Lawry was disappointed in the failure of the Committee in London to send him a colleague in spite of his urgent requests, sent on 7 December 1822 and 8 January 1823. Instead of receiving support, he received letters

[1828-1830]

Aleamotu'a was baptized on 10 January 1830 in the presence of a congregation of 600. He took the name of Josiah, and the missionaries generally referred to him afterwards as Josiah Tupou or King Josiah. He had supported, first the Tahitian teachers and then the Wesleyan missionaries, wavering only temporarily and under strong pressure. His three sons and two daughters were baptized at the same service. On the afternoon of that day, Turner wrote, 797 643 [795] [794]

> "A man who had been a magician or a kind of god and of so high a rank that the king used to pray to him was baptized; so in the same day we have baptized both the king and his god." (28)

After Aleamotu'a was baptized he was married to his chosen wife, Mary, who had become a class-leader and had taken charge of the Sunday School in Nuku'alofa.(29)

Nuku'alofa, with its daily teaching and well-attended regular worship, had become an orderly Christian community. Every Sunday was filled with services and teaching: 5 a.m., prayer meeting; 8 a.m., children's catechizing; 9 a.m., worship; 3 p.m., worship; evening, English service (for mission families and any visiting sailors). During the week the missionaries supervised the day schools, conducted classes for catechumens and others for full members, and held a mid-week service (Wednesday) and prayer-meeting (Friday). They were also occupied with translation work, dispensing medicine, making pastoral visits to the sick and to outlying villages. On 31 March 1830 Cross sent to the Committee in London specimens of the handwriting and composition of Mary, wife of Aleamotu'a, and others. These may be the first sentences in Tongan still in existence; they are preserved in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.(30) 797 [796] [212]

The change in the people's attitude was receiving favourable comments from visiting sea-captains. Captain Hardy, *Snapper*, who used to avoid Tongan anchorages because of the people's reputation for deceit, robbery and violence, reported on the difference when he came on 22 September 1828. Commodore Lawes, H.M.S. *Satellite*, in May 1829, expressed astonishment at the progress the people at Nuku'alofa had made in reading after only a short time. The wrecked whaler, *L'Aigle*, received unexpected hospitality from Aleamotu'a and his people in March 1830. On the other hand, the sailors of some ships cursed the missionaries because they had forbidden women at Nuku'alofa to go on board the visiting vessels.

The chapel built for the Tahitian teachers in 1826 had proved far too small. On 5 May 1830 Turner reported the beginning of the construction of a new chapel "on the hill where the old fortress stood in Mariner's time", the hill to become famous in Tongan Church history as Zion. On 3 September it was opened, with about 1,000 attempting to crowd into the building and nearly as many others outside. Turner described the efforts of some to appear in European clothing, the women with "gowns and bonnets. The bonnets were entirely of their own manufacture, under the direction of Mary, the excellent wife of Tupou". Though Turner wrote this with some satisfaction, he added that the appearance of many could only "excite a smile". Another quaint reference was to Thomas Wright, Lawry's old servant who had returned with John Thomas, and who now conducted the singing in Zion "although he does not understand music"! (31) [368] [794] [291] [177]

Nuku'alofa had formerly been a fortress. Its new importance arose not only because of its convenience as a port but as the centre of the new religion in Tongatapu. It is also noteworthy that Turner and Cross had commenced preaching [361] [504]

[1843 - 1906]

Cargill, who had just returned from Fiji to Britain, was sent in 1843 in response 797
to that request; as a linguist he was of the same high order as J. E. Moulton 779
who came over twenty years later.

Some small portions of the Scriptures had been in print since 1833 and these had been revised and reprinted several times. The missionaries had been allotted various books of the Bible for translation. Although Thomas's journals and those of his colleagues refer frequently to this work it made only slow progress. It took twenty years to produce a complete Tongan New Testament. In 1849, at last, 4,000 copies of the New Testament were printed on the press in Vava'u.

Rabone was reluctant to criticize his brother-in-law, John Thomas, but the tardiness in translating irritated him. His journal stated that, on 20 June 1846, he received a complete copy of the Samoan New Testament after the L.M.S. missionaries had been in Samoa only ten years. He wrote,

> "O, the years we have wasted . . . while others have got the Word of God into the hands of the people. . . . Shame on us for verily we are guilty." (25)

On 12 December 1846 he heard of what the Wesleyans in Fiji had done in ten years, and commented,

> "They are making progress in the work of translation. I am ashamed for this district; we are not of one heart and mind, therefore we do not go as well with our work. They are of one mind in Fiji and therefore their work tells well." (26)

The dilatoriness of the Chairman is implied in Rabone's words on 25 June 1847:

> "We have not held a District Meeting since March 1845; also our printing is at a standstill and needs a new impulse. We are expecting a visit from Mr. Lawry." (27)

It was this District Meeting in 1847 over which Lawry presided that gave the new impulse for which Rabone and others were looking. With regard to translating, Lawry recorded —

> "This work has very urgent claims upon us, and those claims have existed for several years; but there is no sufficient reason why they have not been met long ago. I here record the opinion of most of the Tonga missionaries." (28)

It was decided that Rabone should revise the New Testament and continue with
Old Testament translation. Rabone also laid later generations under obligation [113]
to him by his painstaking work in producing a Tongan-English Vocabulary and Grammar, printed on the mission press in Vava'u in 1846. Rabone accomplished a great deal of his translation before he had to leave Tonga in 1850 when West, Davis and Adams continued the Old Testament translation. The final production was largely the work of West.

Editions of the New Testament were published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1850 and 1854. Robert Young, the deputation from the British Wesleyan Conference, brought 10,000 copies on his visit in 1853. Thomas West had the satisfaction of seeing the whole Bible published by the Bible Society in 1862, after he had returned from Tonga. His was the translation used until Moulton's new version in 1880 (New Testament) and 1906 (Old Testament). West's is substiantially the version which the present dissenting churches, the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga, are using, instead of Moulton's.

The Wesleyans in both Tonga and Fiji used liturgical forms of worship. It is 797
true that they encouraged extemporaneous prayer but they knew the value of 796
ordered worship. With the Tongans' love of music there was no difficulty in [533]
accustoming the congregation to take part in a sung liturgy. Reference has been [779]

[1841-1850]

made to the sonorous singing of the *Te Deum* at the marriage of Taufa'ahau's 797
daughter, Salote, to the Tu'i Pelehake in 1839. The District Meeting in 1841, 796
influenced by John Waterhouse and his experience of the Book of Common 779
Prayer in English Wesleyan services, decided that John Wesley's Abridgement of Morning Prayer from the Book of Common Prayer should be translated and should be used in all the large chapels where missionaries could guide the worship. John Thomas was anything but a high churchman or ritualist but he and the other missionaries loyally accepted the ruling.(29) The Hymn-book of 1849 had 189 hymns, the Morning Prayer service, and also the catechism. In the 1853 edition the Litany and Collects occupied 40 pages and the catechism 72 pages.

Lawry, in his 1850 visit, commented upon the worship in Zion, Nuku'alofa:

> "The serious devotional tone of this host of worshippers would bear a comparison with any congregation I ever saw in England. . . . The beautiful harmony with which they went through the responses in the Morning Service was very affecting, in tones like the sound of many waters. . . . Both the singing and the praying were performed by the entire congregation." (30)

A visiting Anglican physician, Dr. W. H. Harvey, of Trinity College, Dublin, made particular reference to the Tongan Wesleyans' use

> "of our noble Liturgy which we always use in the chapel service".(31)

It was this doctor who was so impressed with the need for more support for medical work that he instituted a Protestant Medical Aid Society. At a later date (1878), Sir Arthur Gordon, when High Commissioner, expressed surprise that "the Anglican Prayer Book" had been translated into Tongan and was regularly used by the Wesleyans.(32)

It was Dr. Moulton who retranslated the Liturgy into stately Tongan to replace what the early missionaries had given with their more restricted knowledge of the language. Both versions still stand in the book used by the Free Wesleyan Church although Moulton's is the one commonly used in worship today.

Tongans eagerly adopted European music and forms of worship. They also 797
introduced colourful patterns of their own, such as the watchnight service on 796
new year's eve, when the lights were brought to the church by all families. In [177]
the early days these were nut-shells filled with oil.(33) At these services several [533]
preachers dwelt solemnly upon the passing of the old year; after about two hours the spirit of gravity was changed to a joyous welcome to the new year.

Another part of the missionaries' work was the introduction of treatment 797
for the people's diseases. Tongans had their own treatment which, generally 757
speaking, they have preferred, even to recent times. They were sometimes impressed, however, by the effect of the medicine brought by the missionaries and they were willing to use it if their own herbs failed. A limitation on the missionaries' efforts was the scanty knowledge they possessed. The situation was exceptional with qualified medical practitioners, R. B. Lyth, most of whose ministry was in Fiji, and George Miller. Shirley Baker, who served from 1860 onwards, had acquired a proficiency in prescribing.

An unusual case of a layman's description of what must have been polio- 164
myelitis is found in a letter from Mrs. Matthew Wilson at Hihifo to her parents 165
in England in November 1847. It was remarkable that one who had no medical knowledge whatever should describe symptoms so accurately. Poliomyelitis had

[1831-1847]

never been recognized as a separate entity by the medical profession at that time. 164
The missionary's wife wrote: 165

> "After Matthew returned from the islands a very severe affliction broke out. It is supposed to have been brought in a ship to Vava'u, from thence to Nuku'alofa in a canoe, and several of the canoe's crew first died in it. Then it broke out among the people at Nuku'alofa. We heard of the fearful devastation which it made among the people at that place, but nothing occurred here for some time. At length, it found its way to Hihifo, by people going backwards and forwards to Nuku'alofa to attend funerals, &c.
>
> "Some were taken in the way, returned, and died in a few days. It is quite a new
> complaint in these islands. The first week the complaint broke out here six died in it.
> We were constantly kept on our feet from the morning to night, giving out medicine, [797]
> bleeding persons who were seized, &c. It generally attacks the young, strong and healthy.
> Bleeding is considered indispensably necessary in this affliction. As many as fifteen have been bled in a day at this place. The people are seized in different ways, some at the back of the neck, others at the foot or feet, hand or arms, side, back &c., yet all one complaint. Then comes on a numbness in the limbs, some have much pain, others only a little. It often happens that one or both the arms, one or both the legs, sometimes one arm and one leg, or both arms and both legs, are numb, cold and dead, destitute of all use and feeling. It is almost always preceded by cold shivering, and that followed by a hot fever; very great constipation of the bowels is another very prominent feature in this complaint.
>
> "Many have died suddenly in it, tho' but a few hours before they seemed in full strength, only a little numbness in the limbs. My husband went to see a young woman who did not appear near death then, only both her arms were numb and dead. We went again to her and she was just dying as we entered the house, tho' that were only about three hours after my husband had been talking with her." (84)

In the mid-19th Century the Church was the centre of the community's life. 794
Tonga had become a nation at prayer, in all Wesleyan districts. The Sabbath 796
was the great day of the week, with crowded congregations, enthusiastic choirs, and fervent preaching. Sunday began with prayer meetings at daylight, followed by 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. services, also Sunday School and, generally, evening gatherings of a more informal nature.

Sabbath observance had been readily accepted not only as a welcome 796
cessation from labour but as the external evidence of the change from a 527
non-Christian society. The people believed that the sternest divine sanctions, like their ancient *tapus*, guarded the Sabbath ordinance. This was clear from the early days as when, in 1831, a hurricane wrecked the Spanish brig, *Candide*, in Tongatapu, with some loss of life; the people believed that the tragedy was due to God's wrath upon a crew that had obtained wood and water on the Sabbath preceding the wreck.(85) Tonga has followed its policy of Sabbatarianism to the present day, and this has been embodied in its laws and the Constitution of 1875.

It was almost inevitable that religion tended to consist in compliance with 797
Church rules, as far as many converts were concerned. Attendance at Church in 795
Wesleyan districts was the universal custom; indeed it was specifically enjoined
in the Code of Vava'u, 1839, though evidently not enforced. John Thomas 797
declared that even sleeping during a church service was sinful; he believed it was 783
due to tiredness after Saturday night dancing. 513

> "I told them of the evil of such things and that it was a sin to sleep in the worship of God." (86)

Not only the prohibition of all work and games on Sunday but the rigid 797
control of personal behaviour became marked features of Tongan Wesleyanism. 794
This discipline became irksome to many as time went on. Thomas Adams, who came in 1847, deplored the unwillingness of many converts to accept "the restraints

The line between interference in politics and merely giving advice when requested 797
was often uncertain. This was a controversial matter when, after 1860, Shirley
Baker, while he was still a missionary, regularly gave the king advice.

At Taufa'ahau's request, Thomas helped him frame the Vava'u Code of 797
1839, the king's first venture in legislation on a European model. Promulgated 643
at Neiafu on 29 November 1839, it was the first written law in Tonga, the first 671
step also in limiting the power of the chiefs. It indicated, probably more accurately
than later and longer documents, what Taufa'ahau thought was suitable for his
people.

The opening phrases showed that the king based the Code on the recognition
of God as the fount of law and authority:

> "It is of the God of heaven and earth that I have been appointed to speak to you; he [779]
> is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, he doeth whatsoever he pleaseth, he lifteth up one
> and putteth down another, he is righteous in all his work, we are all the work of his
> hands and the sheep of his pasture, and his will towards us is that we should be happy."

In this code the chiefs were directed to give land to their people who were [565]
under obligation to cultivate it properly. The emphasis placed on industrious
habits is a strong feature of these laws. No man who refused to work was to be [622]
fed or assisted, and unmarried women who did not work were to suffer in the [461]
same way. Chiefs were forbidden to take the property of commoners and they [689]
were not to take the law into their own hands. In order to safeguard the gardens [622]
it was made unlawful to turn pigs outside their sty. If a pig destroyed a garden, [565]
its owner was to shut it up immediately on receiving the complaint and to [685]
recompense the damage done; after a second offence it was lawful for the injured
person to kill the pig and keep its carcase.

Retailing "ardent spirits" was heavily punished. Adultery and fornication [273]
were made criminal offences. (Chevalier Peter Dillon criticized this section.) (46)
It was typical of the sternness with which the missionaries of that period were 671
endeavouring to enforce sexual purity that Rabone noted with satisfaction the 684
public flogging of two men and a woman found guilty of fornication. The flogging
was carried out by the order of the Governor of Vava'u.

> "May this chastisement be sanctified to their good and the good of all." (47)

These penalties seemed to show that the missionaries' stern denunciations from [797]
the pulpit were not always effective. John Thomas had told his people that, "if
they did not leave off their adultery and fornication, they would burn in hell
for ever", and he also found that, while warning the congregation in these terms,
he had to reprove some women twice for laughing.(48)

Other sections of the Code strongly reflected missionary influence. All work 671
and games were prohibited on the Sabbath. Attendance at public worship was 796
enjoined in these terms: 794

> "That all my people should attend to all the duties of religion towards God; that they 527
> should keep holy the Sabbath day, by abstaining from their worldly occupations and
> labours, and by attending to the preaching of the Word and the worship of God in
> their places of worship."

A court was established at Neiafu to sit monthly. Four chiefs were 671
appointed as magistrates. The Code of Vava'u was made applicable to Ha'apai 692
also, and to Tongatapu after Taufa'ahau became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845.

[1853]

Young reported the typical Sunday appointments — 5.30 a.m., prayer-meeting 797
with the king and queen present; 8 a.m., Sunday School; 9 a.m., public worship 796
with about 700 crowded into Zion Chapel and many others outside; 2 p.m., 794
Sunday School again with the Queen one of the teachers; 3 p.m., another service. Young met one of the leading chiefs from Pea, formerly a rebel and now a worshipper, and also a son of the Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, a Wesleyan local preacher. Not only Sabbath observance but the universal practice of family prayers was noted by the visitor. He did not, however, approve the adoption of European clothing.

Clearly the organization of the whole Mission in Tonga favourably impressed 797
Robert Young. Tonga then had 109 chapels, 527 local preachers, 7,000 church [368]
members, 185 schools with 7,279 pupils (adults and children). An eight hours' [793]
examination of the schools in Nuku'alofa showed Young the work of Richard [794]
Amos. The pupils had followed custom in oiling their bodies for the occasion. [877]
Long Scripture passages had been memorized, and so had names of the rivers 797
in Europe, the countries in the American continent, and the distances from 872
London of the principal towns in England! A class of 150 men, "full of vigour, [302]
worked sums in Arithmetic with as much energy as if a war-whoop had been sounded, and the effect was startling when they chanted the multiplication table"! Young mentioned that Thomas Adams, whose brother was a noted English astronomer, had predicted the time of an eclipse of the moon with a precision that amazed the Tongans.

The decade which followed the end of the war in 1852 represented a high 797
water mark in the history of the Wesleyan Mission. Not only was outward success manifest but harmony prevailed, both harmony in the ranks of the missionaries and, generally, between them and the king. It was to be rudely broken in a few years.

Footnotes: 113

(1) Thomas, J., *Journal*, microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(2) Lyth, R. B., *Journal*, Vol. 2. B.534. M.L.S.; and Lyth, *Day Book*. B.535. M.L.S.; also Wallis, Mrs. M. C, *Life in Fiji for five years among the cannibals*, p.394; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.100.
(3) West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp.211-2.
(4) West, ibid, p.212.
(5) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 10, 20 November 1848. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, IX, p.71.
(6) West, ibid, pp.212-3.
(7) Lawry, W., *2nd Visit, Friendly Islands and Fiji, 1850*, pp.81-2.
(8) Thomas, J., *Letters*, 10 February 1844. A.1960. M.L.S.
(9) *M.N.*, 1846, p.44; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, p.364.
(10) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.162; Leconte, *Memoires Pittoresques d'un Officer de Marine*, II, pp.426-7, 585.
(11) Brookes, ibid, p.168.
(12) Lawry, W., *Friendly and Feejee Islands, Missionary Visit, 1847*, p.62.
(13) Lawry, ibid, p.62.
(14) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, p.422.
(15) Ross, Angus, *New Zealand Aspirations in the pacific in the 19th Century*, p.44.
(16) Cummins, ibid, p.424.
(17) Cummins, ibid, p.427.
(18) Thomas, J., *Journal*, 21 February 1850. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-49. M.L.S.
(19) Turner, P., *Journal*, 11 June 1850, Vol. 10. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, 1851, p.511.
(20) Lawry, W., *Second Missionary Visit to Friendly and Feejee Islands, 1850*, p.63.
(21) Lawry, ibid, pp.71-2.
(22) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.74.
(23) Pompallier, J. B., *Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania*, pp.14-16; *M.N.*, 1838.

[1862-1885]

in 1893. He had some knowledge of pharmacy before he went to Tonga. During 797 a long furlough of nearly three years in Sydney (1867-9) he walked the hospitals to acquire a limited knowledge of medicine; he used this on his return to Tonga, with assistance to the Mission staff and their families, for which they were grateful, and in professional services to other Europeans as well as Tongans. He claimed to have treated Europeans without asking for payment, and there is no reason to believe either that his charges were excessive or that he neglected his Mission duties because of medical work.

He never forgave the Church in Australia for recalling him in 1879; he deliberately circumvented its decision that he should leave Tonga and he broke his own pledge to do so in order to become Premier in 1880. His actions in 1885 in setting up an independent church, the Free Church (22), could have been founded on a genuine belief that an independent nation should have a self-governing Church, had it not been for the evidence of his vindictiveness towards the Australian Church authorities. All this does not absolve the Wesleyan leaders in Australia from blame for delaying their consent to Tonga becoming a self-governing Church, in spite of their suspicion of what Baker would do with a Church that he would be free to control at will. The crowning wrong of Baker's [798] regime was his allowing the bitter persecutions of those Wesleyans who refused to join the Free Church in 1885 and afterwards.

After Baker became Chairman in 1869, he deliberately sought to please the Wesleyan authorities in Australia by raising large sums, to be applied particularly to the expansion of other Missions, e.g., New Britain. The methods he used were strongly criticized by English traders, by Government officials in Fiji, and by his own missionary colleagues. A colleague, Jabez Bunting Watkin, was most critical of Baker's "vaulting ambition" and declared that he should leave Tonga for the good of the Mission in 1878-9; later, Watkin became Baker's confederate in establishing the Free Church in 1885. In the early years, however, fortune seemed to smile on this ambitious missionary. This was particularly evident in a year famous in Tonga's history — 1862.

* * * *

A festival such as Tonga had not known before was held on 4 June 1862. 527 It marked "Emancipation Day" and the promulgation of the Code of 1862, and [771] it has been observed as an annual holiday ever since. Over 3,000 visitors came from the northern islands in 49 canoes. They were entertained for over two months with 150,000 yams and 9,000 large pigs as part of the bountiful provision offered to all. Basil Thomson's comment was apt, if exaggerated: after two months of wastefulness, "the land was as bare as if a swarm of locusts had passed over it".(23) The mats and native cloth *(ngatu)* presented to the Queen formed two enormous heaps, "each the size of a tolerable wheat-stack".

On Whitsunday, the Sunday following 4 June, a thanksgiving service was 527 held in the open air with a congregation of nearly 5,000. The king must have 796 felt justifiable satisfaction as he surveyed this scene. The assembly sang "Jesus shall reign" with full-throated Tongan fervour. The first prayer was offered by a chief, David 'Ahome'e; as a missionary present said, "Thank God, the Tongans can pray, though it may be, as one from Samoa says, 'They pray like steam'." The [779] delivery of 10,000 copies of the complete Bible, largely the work of Thomas

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1862]

West, then in England, printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, 527
synchronized with this epoch-making year. 796

"All laws relating to serfdom are repealed" was the essence of the detailed 779
provision for the abolition of Tonga's old feudal system. What had been included 566
in the Codes of 1839 and 1850 was made explicit now, in spite of the reluctance 671
of many chiefs. Though the serfdom that had existed in Tonga was not comparable
to slavery under masters of another race, as in America, yet the ancient absolute
power of Tongan chiefs over the lives and property of their people was out of
keeping with the position of the country in 1862. The day of the warrior-chief
had passed, and with the spread of education and the acceptance of Christian
principles equal opportunities for commoners with chiefs had to be recognized.
Not only was the arbitrary rule of the chiefs ended, but the king's own authority [643]
itself was limited by the Code of 1862.

Under the new Code, land was to be allotted by the chiefs to their people. 671
All males sixteen years and over were entitled to their allotments, with right of 423
continued possession, provided that the rent was paid. The poll-tax was fixed at [622]
three dollars. (Tongan dollar = four shillings.) The rent to be paid to the chiefs
for tax-allotments was two shillings per annum. This system of guaranteeing land [651]
to all Tongan males has been followed ever since, only the scarcity of land and [427]
the population explosion in recent years preventing its full implementation. Salaries [652]
to judges and other civil servants were to be paid from public revenue, not from
fines as under the old system. Customs duties were fixed.

4 June 1862 is commemorated also for the beginning of parliamentary 646
government. However, there was as yet no formal parliament and a cabinet was not formed until 1875. The first Premier, Crown Prince David 'Unga, was not appointed until 1876. Parliaments met very infrequently in the early period — 1867, 1870, 1874.

Much of the Codes of 1839 and 1850 was incorporated in the Code of 1862, 671
but it was also directly influenced by the Hawaiian Constitution of 1855, and the 177
advice of a journalist, Charles St. Julian, afterwards Hawaiian Consul in Sydney, who sent suggestions to the king.(24)

Shirley Baker, only two years in Tonga, but already making his presence felt, 797
was entrusted with writing out the Code. Whether, at this early stage in his 671
career, he did much more than that for the king is doubtful.

The missionaries had much less to do with the Code of 1862 than with the 797
previous codes even though the king sometimes consulted them about it. He 671
had reached the stage when he did not generally desire the same dependence on 643
their advice. Some years before this, Richard Amos, when writing to John Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, had represented the missionaries' opinion: "The king happens to have a will of his own" (26 October 1857).

Other differences appeared. The king's policy did not always conform to the
missionaries' interpretation of Scripture. W. J. Davis wrote to Eggleston that he [586]
had spoken to the king who wished to allow divorce and re-marriage after three years' separation, a provision that Davis regarded as "a violation of Scripture" (6 September 1861).(25) The missionaries regretted certain significant omissions in the new Code; adultery and fornication were punishable as before, but there was no longer a prohibition of native dancing.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1899 - 1920]

Chapter XVI.

QUEEN SALOTE AND REUNION

Soon after her return from school in Auckland, Salote was betrothed to William Tupoulahi Tungi, the highest chief in Tonga, and a Wesleyan. She married him on 19 September 1917, when she was only seventeen years of age. Her husband, thereafter known as the Prince Consort, was thirteen years older than she. He was the direct descendant of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Because he included many chiefly families in his illustrious ancestry, Tupou I had given him the name of Mailefihi (i.e., the intertwined *maile* or myrtle). Tungi had been educated at Tupou College and Newington College, Sydney, and was Governor of Vava'u. His close contact with the people, his interest in agricultural development, and his solid wisdom enabled him to give valuable support to his wife. He was "a veritable Polynesian Prince Albert", in the words of Sir Harry Luke, High Commissioner (1938-42). 644

Salote became Queen on the death of her father on 5 April 1918. She was installed with traditional ceremonial at the royal kava-ring on 9 October 1918, and two days later was crowned Salote Tupou by J. B. Watkin, venerable President of the Free Church and royal chaplain. 643

Before long, there was the pressing question of the Church to which the Queen's sons would belong. Beyond this consideration, the Queen was genuinely scandalized by the schism that had occurred with two Churches which, as she frequently said, had the same origin, the same doctrines, the same methods of church government. She felt strongly that the separation, which she attributed largely to the quarrels between Baker and Moulton, should not be perpetuated. The disruption affected not only religion in a country where practically all the people were regular church-worshippers, but also its social and political life. 643 796 [644]

The Queen's ideals, the difficulties she encountered, and the methods she followed to achieve success are revealed in the correspondence between herself, Mr. Watkin and Mr. Page, as well as the documents from church conferences and the Tongan courts of law in 1923-4.

On 5 May 1920, the Queen wrote to Mr. Watkin asking for the publication of the Constitution of the Church, drawn up on 8 August 1885. Ever since it was signed he had kept it in his own custody and not made it public (except at Sir Charles Mitchell's inquiry in 1887). Evidently he disliked the formal title, "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga", with the clauses distinctly stating that the Wesleyan pattern was to be used in his Church. On 2 June 1920, he sent a rather discourteous reply declining the Queen's request. He said that Tupou I and II had not asked for the Constitution; in actual fact, Tupou II had asked for it without success on 16 August 1899. Watkin said he was

> "astounded at this request. Since our association with Tupou I from 1885 to 1893, and Tupou II from 1893 to 1918, there was no instance of the slightest desire on the part of

[1924-1942]

Trousers and black coats had been worn in imitation of Europeans, and old Free 241
Church people particularly were addicted to this practice. While Fijian and Samoan 793
preachers had their neat and comfortable native dress, their Tongan counterparts
sweltered in their black suits. So conservative were members of Conference that
permission was barely obtained, in 1932, for those College students who were
local preachers to wear the *vala*. The same concession was obtained for theological
students in 1934, and several years later the becoming native attire was adopted
throughout the Free Wesleyan Church.

Gradually, other reforms were accepted. Illegitimate infants had not been 795
baptized in church services, to mark the Church's strong disapproval of illicit 848
sexual relationships; the reflection upon the infant was evidently thought to be
immaterial. In a country where illegitimacy was over 17% of births, largely [162]
because the parties often preferred not to marry, and where no social stigma was
attached to the child or its mother, it was incongruous that the Church should
show discrimination in baptizing. Only a part of the service had been used in
these cases, and this was done outside a church building. Even Dr. Moulton had
felt that illegitimate children should be baptized quietly in his study or baptism
left until a child was older. It was not until 1933 that Conference allowed baptism
of an illegitimate child with the full service in the church, the mother accompanied
by a male relative. The 1934 Conference allowed funeral bells to be rung, 764
irrespective of the circumstances of birth or of death. 533
795

The 1934 Conference Minutes showed the care being exercised in the conduct
of worship. Conference ruled that the elements in Communion were to be received 795
kneeling (the old Wesleyan custom) and no one under fifteen years, normally, was 796
to be a communicant. The Morning Prayer Liturgy, with chanting, in Dr. Moulton's [516]
translation, had been used only in the Wesleyan Church after 1885; the old Free
Church people had looked askance at it even after its optional use had been
authorized in 1924; they overlooked the fact that the early missionaries had used
these forms in an older and weaker translation. Gradually the liturgical forms
were adopted.

Music always played a prominent part in Tongan Church worship. Choir 795
competitions, held in conjunction with the Annual Conference, were instituted in 796
1933. The Queen was one of the adjudicators on several occasions. Twice the 533
finals, with a massed choir of over 1,000, were held in the Palace grounds before
a vast assemblage. The 50th anniversary of the setting up of the Free Wesleyan
Church was celebrated in 1935, when thirty-seven choirs took part in the
competitions.

An exceptional incident occurred in 1934 when a relatively small number 795
from the Free Church returned to the Free Wesleyan Church. A minister, John
Malamala, with seventy people from the village of Kanokupolu, western Tongatapu,
joined the Church.

Princess Fusipala, the Queen's step-sister, had been at school at Auckland 644
for six years, and at Methodist Ladies' College, Hawthorn, for three years. After
serious ill-health in Tonga, she went to Sydney for medical treatment but died
there on 21 April 1933. Her body was brought to Nuku'alofa for interment in [764]
the royal tombs.

During World War II, on 21 July 1942, the Queen and the nation experienced the grievous loss of the Prince Consort and Premier, Tungi Mailefihi, who died

[1951-1972]

In June 1968, the centenary of Tupou College was observed; it had been 873
postponed from 1966 because of the Queen's death, the period of mourning, and [643]
the coronation celebrations. There were 10,000 present at the final service at [765]
Toloa, the present location of the College. Another feature was the singing of [533]
Handel's oratorio "The Messiah" by a massed choir of 2,000, formed by village
choirs from all districts, at the Centenary Church, Nuku'alofa. The entire oratorio
was sung from memory and with great eclat.

The development of practical teaching in agriculture and in animal husbandry 874
at Tupou College has made it almost self-supporting. A new science block and [797]
a technical wing have enlarged the usefulness of the College; these were supported
by "The Methodist Million" fund in Australia and the benevolence of the late
Lord Rank in England. The new Hango Agricultural College on the island of
'Eua, opened by the king in 1969, with a property of 420 acres, is designed to
emulate the success of Navuso, the Methodist Agricultural School in Fiji. The 873
value of Tupou High School, established in 1963 for higher academic studies, was
seen when in 1965 the first of its students qualified to matriculate at Melbourne
University; this was the first case of matriculation from a school in Tonga.

The contribution of the Churches to secondary education is revealed by the 795
fact that over 50% of the secondary school students in Tonga are now being 873
educated by the Free Wesleyan Church, about 40% by other Churches, and only
10% in Government secondary schools. In 1972 the Free Wesleyan Church had
2,990 students in six colleges, 2,000 in twenty-one middle schools, 3,999 in 29
primary schools. Other Churches have expanded their educational facilities; the
Mormon College was developed with an expenditure of $4,000,000 in five years
and has reached an enrolment of 1,200 co-educational pupils.

An encouraging instance of better inter-church relationships is the friendliness 795
with the Roman Catholic Church. This has been inspired by the world-wide
influence of the late Pope John XXIII. Agreement was reached regarding a new
translation of the Bible. A noted missionary-linguist, the late Dr. Maxwell [779]
Churchward, who produced, first, a new Grammar and Dictionary for the
Government, revised the New Testament between 1951 and 1961. In August
1962 the two Churches agreed to accept this and to revise the Old Testament
also. The Roman Catholic Church asked for only four words to be spelt according
to its custom (Jesus, Mary, Joseph, and grace). Dr. John 'Amanaki Havea was
commissioned in 1965 to conduct the whole revision. So amicable is the [796]
relationship between the two Churches that in 1972 a choir of 1,000 Free
Wesleyans took part in the service of consecrating a Tongan priest to be the first [793]
Tongan-born Roman Catholic bishop. The Tongan Council of Churches,
established in 1973 (under the auspices of the World Council of Churches),
consists of the Free Wesleyan Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the
Church of England. The Free Church and the Church of Tonga have not become
members of the Council of Churches.

The Church has felt itself fortunate in the quality of overseas ministers and 793
teachers who have served in Tonga in this century. A full list appears in the 797
appendix. Special reference is made to the following:—

Ernest E. V. Collocott, M.A., B.D., Litt.D., served in Ha'apai, and also as Principal of Tupou College, beginning the new section at Nafualu with English as the medium. His published works in Tongan history and anthropology were accepted in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, and other learned societies.

/143 cont./

342 served, and at 15 o'clock everyone gets his basket with his share of
272 the earth-oven meal: manioc, *kape*, sweet potatoes and salted
264 beef, along with a coconut mug of beef broth. In the afternoon, while
342 a few natives continue splitting and planing rafters, others, with
331 the *huo lafa-lafa* (shovel iron), (374)

374. See p. 233-234.

level the ground measured off by the carpenter for the house. Under a
[276] temporary corrugated metal roof a kava group of ten older men is
[571] gathered. At 18:45 fried cakes and orange-leaf tea are again handed
[264] out. Then the men slowly go home; a few natives take along a
basket of leftovers from the afternoon meal.

[332] On the third day of work, more rafters and curved sections of
[412] beams are made; the ground plan of the house (in ancient Tongan style)
[177] is marked out, and an approximately 15 centimeter excavation is dug
(tools: two *huo spade* [a small iron blade set on an old digging stick;
[276] see page 234] and a European shovel). Four older Tongans form a kava
[571] circle. The meals are the same as on the previous days. The work
[796] stops toward 16 o'clock, for at 17 o'clock the usual church service
(Friday) is held.

[335] On the subsequent work days the posts and beams (native and
Canadian wood) are cut and planed with the carpenter's tools
(transverse hatchet, saws, planes, adzes); the work on the rafters
(total number 250) also continues. The meals corresponds to those
[276] of the preceding days. The kava gathering of older men continues to
[571] assemble on the building site.

342 Finally, the four customary posts that are to carry the roof are
331 set in place. However, the carpenter intends to give the house more
335 room and to replace the "disturbing" posts with special supports of
Canadian building timber, leading upward obliquely from the side walls;

/153 cont./

241 way he has to walk from the village, he can no longer devote himself
178 to it as intensely as in the 18th century; secondly, many natives
461 seem to have lost their joy in the work of cultivation. This is the
[177] outcome of European influences, as a result of which much hand work
has apparently become crude or has been lost altogether. The
"liberation" of commoners from the domination of chiefs, as well as
the realization that one is no longer completely dependent on
cultivation, since flour, meat, sugar, etc. can be bought from the
storekeeper on all the islands, may likewise have determined the
present attitude toward plantation work.

241 The majority of Tongans consume their cultivated products by
[262] themselves, within their own families. At a request, or even on their
[431] own initiative, they will sometimes give of their yield--especially
if there has been a good harvest--to other villagers (not only kinfolk),
241 as in old times. On the small islands they do not, as a rule, sell
438 their produce to fellow-villagers, and in the villages of the larger
184 islands, only occasionally. In the larger towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu
432 and Pangai, however, some Tongans sell their tubers, etc. to their
countrymen who have no plantings or only small ones (for example,
government and business officials); some natives on the larger
islands have even started planned cultivation for such purposes (for
241 example, "yam farms"). The handing-over of produce to chiefs, which
565 in ancient Tonga was taken for granted, has been given up almost
178 entirely and has been superseded by the annual payment for the lease
427 651 of land; a native but only seldom on special occasions, will a
431 native bring the chief of his district a gift of select tubers. The
241 old, larger harvest festival (inasi), the offering of first fruits
796 to the gods, (406)

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178 406. See E. Gifford, Tongan Society / cited in English/ pp. 76, 345.

/153 cont./

241 796 178 has long since been forgotten; today the Christianized natives render thanks for their harvests in church.

241 The main crops grown in Tonga today are: yams (*Dioscorea alata*
L.), *kapa* (*Alocasia macrorhiza* Schott), sweet potatoes (*Ipomea batatas*
Poir.), manioc (*Manihot dulcis* Baillon [?]); taro (*Colocasia esulenta*
Schott) and bananas (*Musa* species). The coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*
241 L.) is planted to a great extent. In addition, the following [items]
262 are more or less important for the food of the Tongans: breadfruit
tree (*Artocarpus altilis*), mango tree (*Mangifera* /154/ *indica* L.),
maize (*Zea Mays* L.), sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum* L.), pumpkin
(*Cucurbita pepo* L.), watermelon (*Citrullus vulgaris*), pineapple (*Ananas
comosus*), peanut (*Arachis hypogaea* L.), orange (*Citrus* species), papaya
(*Carica papaya* L.), *fekika* (*Eugenia malaccensis* L.), *vi* (*Spondias
dulcis* Forst.), *tava* (*Pometia pinnata* Forst.), *ifi* (*Inocarpus fagiferus*),
vaine (*Passiflora* species), *apele* Tonga (*Annona reticulata* L.), *'avoka*,
si (*Cordyline terminalis*), cabbage, onions, tomatoes. (407)

407. See itemization, p. 234 ff.

241 A "gatherer economy" properly speaking does not exist alongside
222 cultivation. The breadfruit tree, the mango tree, tomatoes, oranges,
papaya, *fekika*, *vi*, *tava*, *ifi*, *vaine*, *apele* Tonga, *'avoka* and *si* are
not only planted, but also grow more or less wild in the luxuriant
growth on the plantations, and these the natives, of course, like to
[137] harvest. (They also gather the fruits of the *kuava* tree *Psidium
Guajava* L. which was introduced by Europeans and now grows only wild.)

248 They continue to plant the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia
249 papyrifera*) (for making bast fabric), several pandanus varieties
(for making mats), tobacco and kava (*Piper methysticum*) for preparing
the kava drink. (408)

408. See p. 144ff.

/226 cont./

512 stroll down to the beach to hunt for seafood, or they start preparing a new supply of hair- and body-oil. An important task for them, [264] however, is the preparation of the afternoon meal of which the entire family partakes between 17 and 19 o'clock. Around this time the [515] husband has returned from his plantation (often with fruit he picked) and has washed himself thoroughly and put on clean clothes. The children have spent the afternoon helping or playing and are now mostly also washed, as is the wife. Around 19 o'clock, after the meal, it has grown dark. Most families gather in their houses for prayer. Thereafter, the children spend a little time at their schoolwork and soon lie down to sleep while the husband and wife sit by the light of kerosene lamps, chat and talk over the next day and then go to rest around 21 - 22 o'clock. Many men and youths have [574] /227/ meanwhile gathered in various houses of the village for their kava circles (589)

589. See p. 144ff.

which seem to a large extent to satisfy all their social aspirations and which last far into the night, sometimes even until dawn. In [794] [533] many villages natives of both sexes gather in the evenings to take part in the practice and rehearsals of the various church choirs.

Circumstances may vary this average daily routine. Thus, the weather (for example, humidity or dryness) may be the occasion for [796] various tasks (plantations) or may prevent them. Church services also induce natives to get up earlier on some days of the week and to start the day with church attendance, or to end, thus, the day's work in the afternoon. Moreover, communal projects such as house-building (not so much boat-building) and the making of tapa lengths and mats in the kautaha houses (590)

[252] 590. On the days of such communal projects by

/227 cont./

512 (252) women, the husbands prepare earth-oven meals for their working wives.

may influence and change the customary daily routine of some families.
[592] The size of the family naturally plays a part in the daily routine,
since kinfolk (men as well as women) living with the family can make
tasks easier or take them over from the other members of the household.
512 461 However, the Tongan men and women are, of course, the determining
factor in the daily routine; undoubtedly there is a certain need to
work, but owing to the climate and the relatively rich resources of
their homeland, work is not heavy enough to be burdensome so that,
with Tongan equanimity, many a plan can be cheerfully postponed for
days or weeks, and one can take a nap if one feels in the mood, or
spend a forenoon or an afternoon at a game. (591)

591. On the other hand, it sometimes happens that during the hottest period of the day (around 13 or 14 o'clock) men will work on the plantations and women, for example, will gather food along the shore while the majority of villagers take a rest.

512 527 The daily routine as described applies only to the week days
from Monday to Friday, for on Saturday preparations are made for
Sunday: the men bring food for Sunday from the plantations (or from
the sea), and the women are busy (besides their daily chores of
preparing meals, taking care of the house, attending to the children)
washing clothes and cleaning the grassy areas of their properties,
which the men have cut short. The Sunday routine is, however, quite
[797] different. As a result of the missionization of the Archipelago,
[461] chiefly carried on by the Wesleyans, there is strict observance of
rest from work on this day. Early in the morning (usually around
● [796] five o'clock) people attend the /228/ first church service followed,
in the course of the day, by two or three further church attendances,

512 /228 cont./
527 (592)

[796] 592. Children also attend Sunday school.

[794] in which most of the natives (of both sexes and all ages) take part.
[252] Chiefly in the morning (around eight o'clock) the men, with the help
[264] of their wives, prepare an earth-oven (593)

593. This work, of course, the men also performed during the week if their wives have not prepared food in a simple manner.

the contents of which, around ten or eleven o'clock, serve as the main
[264] Sunday dinner, the leftovers of which they like to eat in the afternoon
as a second meal. As for the rest of the day, they prefer to spend it
[574] sleeping and chatting and also paying visits; some Tongans read the
[212] bible for a long time (as they often do evenings during the rest of the
[571] week), and in every village men belonging to individual community groups
[264] gather for the gala meal of thanksgiving sponsored by the church (faka-afe).

512 The daily routine of the Tongans, like their division of labor, essentially does not change throughout the seasons. Not only the population in general, (594)

[463]
[461] 594. The daily schedule of Tongans who have special professions (for example, teachers, physicians, clerks, government employees) is, of course, determined by their work.

but also many nobles, in contrast to the past, spend their days in this manner, provided they do not hold an office that carries with it a special honor.

512 Thus the daily routine reflects the changes, the transformation of
177 Tongan culture: Included in the array of traditional tasks, duties
178 and leisure activities are new activities (595)

(527) 595. Copra-production; clothes washing; church duties; attendance at church services, prayers,

/249 cont./ The
771 old, so greatly feared power of the tapu is gone. In place of this
784 merely negative law of prohibition, of avoidance and abstention has
178 come the idea of sanctity; though this also includes prohibition, its
778 meaning is far more ethical then that of the tapu, for the sacred, the
lofty and the godly is not so much "that which is dangerous, "
771 but rather "that which is to be venerated." For the natives, the
783 principle of sin and atonement of all human beings was also new; this
776 meant /250/ a considerable change in the ancient Tongan idea of the
178 deity, since the gods were not ideal beings beyond good and evil, and
did not punish sins (in the Christian sense). The old belief in the
[753] absolute dependence of human beings on the gods who sent illness and
[784] suffering as punishment for the neglect of religious duties and other
transgressions, is today equivalent to the conviction that God is
almighty; suffering and sickness are regarded as blows of fate sent
by God, though not merely in the sense of punishment, but of trial
771 and purification. Whereas in the past there were few rites and no
796 formalized general veneration of the gods in Tonga, there are today
178 several churches on all the inhabited islands, and the natives take
part in the numerous church services conducted in accordance with
793 their denominational procedure. The Tongan clergymen who serve the
554 congregations are respected and influential in the community, in contrast
178 to the rather unimportant ancient Tongan priests. The former
782 sacrifices of the harvest, of fingers and of children have not been
178 carried out for a long time, buy, in a sense, the very high
794 donations to churches by members of the congregations may replace
771 these. Today, as in the past, there is general devoutness, and only
178 occasionally one comes across outspoken disbelief.

These comparisons, despite their brevity, may give an insight
[177] into the change that came about in Tonga in the field of religion,

/253 cont./
346 the floor and a small wooden table for the preacher, to complete
352 furnishings, with a pulpit and benches. In the Catholic churches /254/
and chapels one finds altars and the customary decor.

797 Only a few white missionaries are still working on the islands.
793 In general, the Tongans carry on the work begun by Europeans, and
794 conduct the services themselves. The individual Wesleyan congregations
are headed by native clergymen and, in accordance with the character of
the Methodist church, they are assisted by a number of lay preachers.
In the Catholic churches of the Archipelago a bishop and several priests
officiate, but on the smaller islands native catechists have taken over
their work, provided they are authorized to do so according to the
organization of the Catholic church. Tongans also head some of the
Mormon congregations.

796 The number of church services is relatively large. The Wesleyans
generally go to church six times a week: Mondays at 17 o'clock,
Wednesdays at 5 (6) o'clock, Fridays at 17 o'clock and Sundays at
[533] 5 (6), 9 and 15 o'clock. (In addition there are often rehearsals of
(794) the quite large church choirs on two or three evenings a week.) In
the Catholic churches the morning masses are read every day, and at
18 o'clock the evening prayer service is held; in addition, on Sundays
there is high mass at 8 o'clock and the benediction at 16 o'clock.

796 Attendance at the services is very active; most Wesleyan Tongans,
794 for example, scarcely miss one of them; (677) they willingly get up early for them and cease their plantation
work in time so that they will not be late for church. (678)

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[578] 677. In the villages, however, there are some who, for various reasons (for example, because they have an antipathy to the priest) stay away from services for years.

678. On the subject of punctuality at church services see p. 33-34.

/253 cont./

796 Along with a doubtlessly often felt inner need, there is also a desire
794 to be seen in public and to enjoy the reputation of being a good
[626] Christian, which plays an important part in this church attendance, and the number of Tongans who believe that with this frequent attendance at services (and with their prayers at home) they are doing enough for their welfare on this earth and for their salvation is probably not insignificant. This attitude, however, is probably less Tongan than typically human, and the Tonga Archipelago is doubtless not exceptional among the rest of the Christian countries of the world. Yet it seems noteworthy that these rather casual human beings to whom the European time sense is so foreign should attend church services so regularly.
[152] The majority of them seem to listen devoutly and with wholehearted feeling to the sermon and try to experience within themselves the biblical passages discussed, /255/ so that, like the preacher, they
[533] often have tears in their eyes. Their singing of the hymns is loud and fervent. They are, at any rate, convinced that they are real
[186] Christians, (679)

> [529]
> [461]
> 679. Strange, though probably understandable with the Old Testament bias of the Methodists, is the attitude of the Wesleyan Tongans to Sundays and to the important church holidays. While on Sunday a strict rest from work is observed, at Easter, Good Friday and the Christmas days they simply attend the services and then work at various activities that seem necessary. On the first Christmas day in 1951 on Nomuka working Tongans were questioned and gave the following explanation: "Sunday is the Lord's day of rest, and Christmas is only the birthday of His Son."

and are proud of the fact that they are good church-goers, and they speak disdainfully of worldly and disbelieving whites with whom they have become acquainted during the present decades, especially during
000 the last World War (troops on Tongatapu). Although the younger

/256 cont./ The natives sang

533 chiefly to accompany dances (683)

534
461

683. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 329-337.

(at which rhythm-stampers, percussion sticks and slit-drums /?/ provided the rhythm) and also to encourage people at certain work (for (hiva), (685)

685. Ibid. p. 333; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ I. p. 106.

by individuals or small groups (sometimes accompanied by a nose flute). (686)

686. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 334.

533 The beauty and the assets of the islands and the sea were the subject of such songs, but events of the past were also celebrated in song.

533 /257/ Today there are no longer any purely Tongan songs,

177 except for an old taua'alo melody. (687)

[461]

687. taua'alo are the typical ancient Tongan work songs, sung especially in paddling; perhaps the lomepeau song sometimes still sung to the laka-laka dance is also of Tongan origin.

One hears songs of European (English) origin or purely European (English) songs. Most of the secular songs today sung by individual natives or by small groups are written and composed by Tongans on

533 various English models. Most of these songs contain landscape descriptions, though many--in contrast to the past--are pure love songs. Other themes, as for example historical events, are rare. The natives

[574] sing at social gatherings, for example in the kava circles, (688)

[535]

688 See p. 147-149.

to accompany dances and sometimes also by themselves if they happen to feel like it.

[796] But most of all and most heartily the Tongans (689)

[194]

689. Their singing voices (especially those of

/257 cont./

533 the women and girls) still have a nasal
796 sound.

[194) today sing at services in their churches. The Free Wesleyan Church
795 of Tonga prefers purely European (English) melodies which have been
796 borrowed from hymns as well as secular songs. In the Free Church of
533 Tonga, which is more conservative and apparently also does not have
177 the personnel to teach congregations the European song literature, one
still hears predominantly European-influenced ancient Tongan melodies.

533 The choirs of the various Wesleyan churches cultivate singing to
794 an especially great extent. They meet several evenings a week and, by
177 a system of numbered notes written on blackboards, which was introduced
in Tonga, they practice with great patience and notable musical talent the songs composed by their choir masters or adapted from European printed notes; these songs they sing with an enthusiasm intensified by their Christian faith. In this way even works of European masters (as for example, the Hallelujah chorus of Handel's "Messiah") have been introduced in Tonga.

533 The influence of sacred songs is today so great that even on sea journeys between the islands the natives sing chiefly these songs and rarely secular ones.

Thus Tongan song has changed essentially in comparison with the
[177) past. Yet the joy of singing is probably at least as great today as
it was in ancient Tonga, since the new European /258/ melodies and particularly the singing furthered by religious motives have brought great stimulation.

534 In pre-European Tonga there were relatively few, simple musical instruments. At dances the natives liked to use "rhythm-stampers," that is, bamboo tubes of various lengths closed at the lower end, the proportions of which determined the pitch of the tone. (690)